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BULLETIN 30
STOCKHOLM 1997

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Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities
MEDELHAVSMUSEET

Fredsgatan 2, Stockholm
Postal adress: Box 5405, SE-114 84 Stockholm

In this journal, the style of references recommended by the *Opuscula Atheniensia* and the *Opuscula Romana* (*OpRom* 17, 1989, 245-247) is followed. Abbreviations of periodicals and standard works follow the standard usage as in the *American Journal of Archaeology* (vol. 95, 1991, 4-16) and in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*.

Recommended abbreviation for this journal:
MedMusB

FINE ARTS
JOUR
DE
1
.M4a
no.30
1997

© Medelhavsmuseet 1997
Distribution: Almqvist & Wiksell International, P.O. Box 7634, SE-103 94 Stockholm, Sweden
Telephone: +46 8 613 61 33. Fax: +46 8 24 25 43
Edited by Eva Rystedt and Karen Slej. Photos of Stockholm objects by Margareta Sjöblom and Ove Kaneberg
Form: Anna Sonnevi
Cover: Sphero-conical Vessels. Photo: Ove Kaneberg
ISSN 0585-3214
Printed by Graphic Systems AB, Stockholm 1997

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KARIN ÅDAHL

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Eine Stele des Ramose aus Amarna

BEATE GEORGE

Im Jahre 1996 hatte das Medelhavsmuseet die Möglichkeit, eine kleine Kalksteinstele der Amarnazeit zu erwerben, MME 1996:4 (Abb. 4). Ihre Höhe ist 22,8 cm, die Breite 15,5 cm.[1] Nach Angabe wurde diese Stele in Minya erworben. Der Stein ist weiss, dicht und feinkörnig. Die Rückseite ist unregelmässig behauen und grossenteils mit einer grauen Lehmschicht bedeckt, die sicher zur Befestigung an einer Wand gedient hat. Die Kante an der Seite des stehenden Mannes ist ebenfalls unregelmässig und teilweise mit Lehm überzogen. Die andere Kante aber und der untere und obere Abschluss der Stele sind weiss und tragen deutliche Werkzeugspuren. Der obere Abschluss ist leicht unregelmässig gerundet. Trotz dieser Unregelmässigkeiten besteht kein Zweifel, dass es sich um eine komplette, wenn auch kleine Stele handelt. Die Vorderseite ist sorgfältig geglättet und mit einer Szene in versenktem Relief dekoriert. Dargestellt sind zwei Männer, einer sitzend, einer stehend. Der Name des Sitzenden ist, wie die vertikale Inschrift hinter seinem Kopf besagt, Ramose (Abb. 2). Die Gruppe *ms* (Abb. 3) ist sehr flüchtig und ungenau eingeritzt. Er trägt eine schwarz bemalte kurze Perücke, die zum Gesicht hin drei Reihen Löckchen aufweist und zum Kinn hin spitz zuläuft. Das Gesicht ist ausdrucksvoll und sorgfältig gearbeitet: dicht unter der Perücke eine weich modellierte Augenbraue über dem schmalen, geraden, ziemlich kleinen Auge, dessen Pupille noch durch einen schwarzen Farbtupfer angedeutet zu sein scheint. Auf dem hohen Wangenknochen befinden sich noch Reste rötlichbrauner Bemalung. Die Nase ist ziemlich spitz mit markiertem Nasenflügel und Nasenloch. Eine schwach angedeutete Falte verläuft von der Nase zum Mundwinkel und eine tiefere Falte vom Mundwinkel nach unten. Das Kinn ist vorgeschoben und etwas eingekerbt. (Abb. 1) Der

Abb. 1
Kopf des Ramose, MME 1996:4

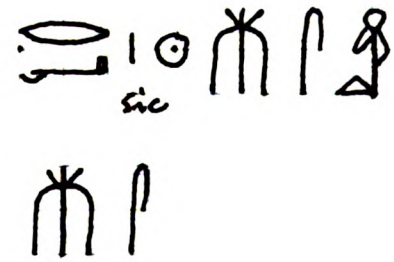

Abb. 2 und 3

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Abb. 4. Stele des Ramose, MME 1996:4

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Hals ist dünn, aber nicht sehr lang. An dem unbekleideten Oberkörper sind die Schlüsselbeine leicht angedeutet. Die linke Brustwarze ist im Profil direkt unter der Achsel markiert. Die Arme sind schmal und lang. Das einzige Kleidungsstück des Mannes ist ein halblanger Schurz, der im Rücken gefältelt ist und hoch über die Taille hinaufreicht, an der Vorderseite aber den grossen, länglich eingetieften Nabel im leicht gerundeten Bauch freilässt. Eine schräge Linie von der rechten Wade zum linken Knie hinauf bildet den unteren Abschluss des Schurzes. Ramoses rechte Hand ruht mit dem Daumen nach aussen auf dem rechten Oberschenkel. Die Finger sind weich ohne Angabe von Gelenken, aber mit einem leichten Knick zu den Nägeln hin wiedergegeben. Die linke Hand, auf das linke Knie gestützt, ist zur Faust geballt und hält ein Tuch. Ein langer Daumen reicht über die Faust hinaus. Die Unterschenkel sind sehr schmal und die Füsse lang und dünn und ganz ohne Andeutung von Zehen modelliert. Sie ruhen auf einem Sockel. Ramose sitzt auf einem schwarz bemalten Lehnstuhl mit Tierbeinen, möglicherweise Löwentatzen.[2]

Vor ihm steht ein Mann, der Bi heisst laut der Inschrift (Abb. 5), die sich analog zu Ramoses Name oberhalb des Hinterkopfes befindet. Bi ist im Verhältnis zu Ramose klein. (Abb.6) Sein runder Kopf weist weder Haare noch Perücke auf. Die Augenbraue ist halbkreisförmig modelliert; das Auge ist wie bei Ramose gerade, schmal und ziemlich klein, die Nase kurz und gebogen mit angedeutetem Nasenflügel und -loch. Die Lippen stehen hervor über einem kleinen kurzen Kinn. Das Ohr ist recht gross. Der Hals ist dünn und kurz. Der Oberkörper ist ähnlich wie bei Ramose modelliert. Bi ist in einen knielangen gefältelten Schurz mit plissiertem Vorderteil gekleidet, der im Rücken bis zur Taille reicht, an der Vorderseite aber weit unter dem Nabel abschliesst. Dieser ist als grosse, einem liegenden Dreieck ähnelnde Vertiefung wiedergegeben. Arme und Unterschenkel sind im Verhältnis zum Körper sehr dünn. Bis vorangestellter Fuss wird von Ramoses Füssen überschnitten. Seltsamerweise steht Bi ebenfalls auf einem Sockel, der genau so hoch wie Ramoses ist. Es sieht so aus, als habe man erst einen grossen Sockel für Ramose eingemeisselt, auf dem Bi dann aus Platzgründen auch stehen musste und den man deshalb

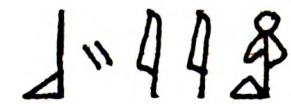

Abb. 5

Abb. 6
Bi

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durch eine senkrechte Linie in zwei zu teilen versucht hat. Eine kräftige schwarze Linie schliesst die gesamte Darstellung nach unten hin ab.

Auch wenn man den Sinn der Szene erwägt - es handelt sich um das Darbringen von Opfergaben an einen Verstorbenen - verstärkt sich noch der Eindruck, als habe der Bildhauer die Steinplatte erst mit dem Bilde des sitzenden Ramose zu zwei Dritteln gefüllt, um dann festzustellen, dass weder für den opfernden Bi noch für einen vollbeladenen Opfertisch zwischen den beiden Männern genügend Platz übriggeblieben war. So erklärt sich vielleicht die ungewöhnliche Form des Tisches[3] (Abb. 7) - niedrig, rechteckig und mit Streben, eher ein Vorratstisch - und der ungewöhnliche Aufstellungsort rechts oben im Bildfeld. Bemerkenswert ist auch die Art der Opfergaben: Ramose scheint sich mit Libationen und Brot begnügen zu müssen. In seinen erhobenen Händen hält Bi einen länglichen Krug, aus dem Wasser in drei Strahlen über einen Zweig und vier runde Brote fliesst, die oberhalb von Ramoses Armen dargestellt sind. Auf dem Serviertisch stehen vier runde Krüge mit konischen Hälsen, unter deren Deckeln eine Flüssigkeit in einem Strahl hervorquillt.

Abb. 7
Opfertisch

Leider ging die Plazierung des Abstelltisches in die Bildfläche oberhalb von dem opfernden Bi auf Kosten weiterer Inschriften, die sonst oft den Oberteil von Stelen ausfüllen. Man könnte erwarten, aus ihnen die gesellschaftliche Stellung des Ramose, seine Titel und die Art seiner Verbindung mit Bi zu erfahren. Gern wüsste man, ob es sich um Vater und Sohn handelt. Eine Angabe der Titel würde es natürlich auch ermöglichen, mit Sicherheit zu entscheiden, ob Ramose mit dem Eigentümer von Grab 11 der südlichen Gruppe der Felsengräber in den Ostbergen von Amarna identisch ist. Obwohl es sich um einen häufig vorkommenden Namen handelt, ist es doch sehr wahrscheinlich, dass diese Stele zu dem einzigen aus Amarna bekannten Grab eines Ramose gehört hat. Dies soll hier als Arbeitshypothese angenommen werden.

Aus Amarna sind 25 numerierte, in eine nördliche und eine südliche Gruppe eingeteilte Privatgräber bekannt.[4] Sie befinden sich in verschiedenen Stadien der Vollendung, von fertig bis gerade

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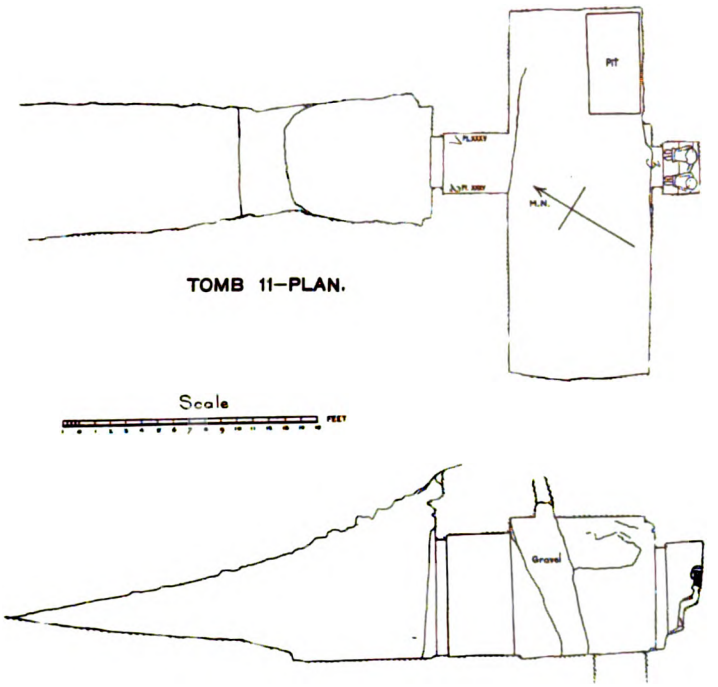

Abb. 8
Plan von Grab 11 in Amarna.
Aus N. de G. Davies,
The Rock Tombs of El Amarna,
vol IV, London 1906, pl. 34

angefangen. Die "obere Etage" dieser Felsgräber besteht aus einem längeren oder kürzeren Korridor, der in einzelnen Fällen zu einem Querraum mit zwölf oder vierundzwanzig Säulen erweitert sein kann. Daran schliesst sich eine Querhalle an, die manchmal auch Säulen enthält und die am Ende der Längsachse des Grabes eine Nische oder einen kleinen Raum für Grabstatuen aufweist. Dazu kommen Korridore oder Treppen, die in die tiefer gelegene Sargkammer führen. Das Grab Nr. 11 des Ramose[5] ist sehr einfach: ein nur etwa 1,20 m langer Korridor von circa 1 m Weite führt in die Querhalle hinein, die ungefähr 6,30 m breit und 2,50 m tief ist (Abb. 8). Der Felsen ist von schlechter Qualität, und eine breite Kiesader führte dazu, dass die Wände dieser Halle weder geglättet noch dekoriert wurden. In der Ostecke führt ein Stollen in die Sargkammer hinab. In der Rückwand der Querhalle, gegenüber der Mündung des Korridors befindet sich eine Nische, die durch eine portalähnliche Einfassung mit Hohlkehle hervorgehoben ist. In dieser Nische befindet sich eine Statuensitzgruppe des Ramose und wohl seiner Frau. Leider ist der Erhaltungszustand dieser Skulpturen sehr schlecht. Die geringe Qualität des Kalksteins zwang den Skulpteur zu Ausbesserungen mit Hilfe von Putz.

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Abb. 9
Betender Ramose in Grab 11.
Aus N. de G. Davies,
The Rock Tombs of El Amarna,
vol IV, London 1906, pl. 45

Grosse Perücken, in Ramoses Fall ein Halsschmuck bestehend aus vier Reihen linsenförmiger Perlen, ein Teil des sogenannten Lobgoldes also, und lange Gewänder lassen sich noch unterscheiden. Dekor und Inschriften der portalartigen Nischeneinfassung konnte schon Davies zu Anfang dieses Jahrhunderts kaum noch erkennen: "On the lintel there was a single set of the five cartouches with a figure (?) and a short prayer at each end. The jambs appear to have contained texts of the usual form and a repetition of the titles given to Rames elsewhere". Wie Davies weiter anmerkt, ist der Dekor der äusseren Türeinfassung am Eingang des Grabes

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ähnlich schlecht erhalten: der Sturz zeigte Ramose bei der Anbetung von Königskartuschen, auf den Pfosten befanden sich Bitten um Opfergaben wie Brot, Bier und Vögel, "für den Ka des königlichen Schreibers, des Kommandanten der Soldaten des Herrn der beiden Länder, Ramose, den Gerechtfertigten".[6]

Relativ am besten sind die für Amarna so typischen Szenen rechts und links im Korridor am Eingang des Grabes erhalten: links vom Eintretenden erscheinen Echnaton und Nefertiti mit einer - wohl der ältesten - Tochter. Sie opfern der Sonnenscheibe einen Blumenstrauss, Weihrauch und Wohlgerüche, und der Aton reicht ihnen mit seinen Strahlenhänden Lebenshieroglyphen. Gegenüber, rechts vom Eintretenden, kniet Ramose mit erhobenen Händen und spricht ein Gebet, das mit einer Lobpreisung des Königs beginnt, der die lebende Sonne der Menschen ist; der König selbst hat ihn zu seinen Ämtern erhoben und mit Grab und Grabausstattung, tägliche Opfergaben eingeschlossen, versehen (Abb. 9). Darauf folgt eine Anrufung an Aton, dem König unendlich viele Sed-Feste zu verleihen, und am Schluss des ziemlich fragmentarischen Textes präsentiert sich Ramose noch mit einem dritten Titel "Hausverwalter des Nebmaatre", also Amenophis' III.[7]

Obwohl das Grab des Ramose nur eine kleine, unvollendet gebliebene Anlage ist, enthalten die Dekorelemente, die man angebracht hat, dennoch die typischen Erkennungsmerkmale der Amarnazeit: die Darstellung der Königsfamilie und die Atonverehrung sind die entscheidenden Schlüsselszenen, die das herkömmliche reiche Repertoire an Jenseitsvorstellungen ersetzen, vor allem Szenen vom Dasein im Grabe selbst, im Iaru-Gefilde oder in der Unterwelt bei Osiris usw. Die Erneuerung und Wiederbelebung im Dunkeln wird durch eine Verklärung im Licht und durch das Licht des Aton ersetzt. Wie Echnaton dies erlebt, drückt er selbst klar und deutlich auf den späteren Grenzstelen aus: bei einer zeremoniellen Ausfahrt im Wagen zu den die Stadt Amarna in einen Kreis einschliessenden Grenzstelen hält der König seinen Wagen vor seinem Vater Aton an, "der Leben gibt von Ewigkeit zu Ewigkeit..., indem die Strahlen des Aton auf ihm (Echnaton) sind mit Leben und Wohlergehen zur Erneuerung seines Körpers täglich".[8] Man

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darf es vielleicht so ausdrücken, dass Echnaton eine stärker vergeistigte Sicht des Göttlichen zuteil geworden ist, das in anderen Wirkungsweisen und anderen Symbolen als bisher wahrgenommen werden und zum Ausdruck kommen will. In Echnatons Fall ist die uralte Rolle des Priester-Königs, die im Prinzip jeder Pharao innehat, mit neuem, unerwartetem Leben angefüllt: das Wahrnehmen und Innewerden des höchsten Lichtes mit seiner alles durchstrahlenden und belebenden Energie, der Kontakt mit dieser Schöpfungsquelle des Universums - ganz greifbar und tief symbolisch in den lebenspendenden Strahlenhänden des Aton zum Ausdruck gebracht - hat sicher vieles Hergebrachte in der ägyptischen Religion als überflüssig, überholt, ja falsch erscheinen lassen. Hoherpriester und Stellvertreter des Aton auf Erden ist einzig Echnaton, der die Offenbarungen des Lichtgottes empfängt und nach ihnen seine Religion, sein Land und sein Volk zu erneuern versucht. Das Bedürfnis nach Umformung und Erneuerung muss so stark gewesen sein, dass dem König der Konflikt mit dem Klerus anderer Götter, vor allem mit der einflussreichen und mächtigen Priesterschaft Amuns, als das kleinere Übel vorgekommen sein mag.

Für den Totenglauben bedeutet die Hinwendung zu Aton, dass der Tod übersprungen wird: man lebt weiter und wieder in "Horizont des Aton", und Amarna ist das Paradies. Man lebt durch das Sonnenlicht, das alles hervorbringt und dem König schenkt, der das Hervorgebrachte weiter an seine Getreuen verteilt, im Leben wie im Tode. Die Betonung der Sonne lässt, wie konstatiert worden ist, an eine Naturlehre denken[9], an eine Metapher etwa für die Photosynthese, die Voraussetzung allen Lebens ist. Doch ist das Wesen des Lichtes viel umfassender erfasst worden: es ist auch Intelligenz und Bewusstsein in seiner Rolle als Schöpfergott und Liebe in seinem Verhältnis zu seinem Sohn, dem König oder Gott auf Erden, und durch seine Vermittlung im Verhältnis zu allen Lebewesen. Diese zwei Seinsformen des Lichtes sind es, die es als göttlich erweisen und die natürlich existieren und wirken unabhängig davon, ob das Licht als Sonne sichtbar ist oder nicht, also auch des Nachts. Wenn aber Bewusstsein und Liebe auch bei Nacht und Dunkelheit, in todesähnlichen Zuständen also, da sind,

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so werden auch die Verehrer dieses Lichtes des Bewusstseins und der Liebe in Nacht und Tod nicht verlustig gehen. Alles Erschaffene ist immerdar des Wesens des Schöpfers teilhaftig. Wo Licht als Intelligenz, Bewusstsein und Liebe allein herrscht, da sind die Gegensätze von Diesseits und Jenseits, Leben auf Erden und Dasein nach dem Tode aufgehoben, da ist das Paradies.

Hierzu passt auch, dass die Gräber in Amarna in den Ostbergen liegen, entgegen der Tradition, die Sonnenuntergang und Sterben gleichsetzt. Die Sonnenanbetungsszenen wenden sich aus dem Grabe heraus dem Licht und dem neuen Tage zu. Das Licht allein ist Leben und Ewigkeit, die dunklen Verwandlungsmysterien des Osiris in der Unterwelt werden beiseitegeschoben. Nicht aus der schwarzen Erde wird erneuertes Leben erwartet, sondern aus dem ewig unveränderlichen und unvergänglichen Licht. Dies ist vielleicht auch ein Grund dafür, dass der Versorgung mit Opfergaben - einem der wichtigsten Anliegen des traditionellen Totenkultes überhaupt - in den Gräbern von Amarna wenig Bedeutung beigemessen zu werden scheint. Hier muss natürlich berücksichtigt werden, dass die Dekorierung nicht überall abgeschlossen ist. Aber dennoch sind die Akzente anders gesetzt: anstelle von hoch aufgehäuften Opfertischen als Fortlebensgaranten ist es wichtiger bzw. allein entscheidend, den König als Mittler anwesend zu haben und über ihn aus den Strahlenhänden des Aton Symbole des Lebens zu empfangen.

Auffällig ist in diesem Zusammenhang auch das fast vollständige Fehlen von Grabstelen, gänzlich von Scheintüren, die die Kommunikation zwischen den Opfernden und dem aus dem Jenseits zurückkehrenden Opferempfänger ermöglichen. Charakteristischerweise enthalten die beiden grossen Stelen im ersten Raum im Grabe des Mahu anstatt der bewährten Mittel, durch Bild- und Spruchmagie die Versorgung des Toten in alle Ewigkeit zu gewährleisten, just Szenen der den Aton verehrenden Königsfamilie und des Grabherrn, der einen Sonnenhymnus betet.[10] Die Ramosestele ist deshalb trotz ihrer nicht absolut zu sichernden Herkunft und ihres kleinen Formates eine Rarität unter den aus Amarna bis in unsere Zeit erhaltenen Monumenten. Vergleichbare Stücke sind nur aus dem Grabe des Ani bekannt, in dessen Vestibül sechs kleine

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Stelen an einer Seitenwand angetroffen wurden.[11] Sie sind dem Ani, der übrigens auch königlicher Schreiber war, von Kollegen, Dienern bzw. von seinem Bruder gewidmet. Die von dem Bruder gewidmete Stele enthält als einzige zum Opfertisch auch das traditionelle Opfergebet mit der Bitte um Brot und Bier, Rindfleisch und Vögeln sowie Libationen von Wein und Milch. Die anderen recht kurzen Inschriften auf den übrigen fünf Stelen zeigen Ani dreimal am Opfertisch sitzend (1, 3, 6 bei Davies). Für seinen Ka werden, wie die Hieroglyphen besagen, "ein Blumenstrauss des Aton" (1, 6) bzw. eine Weinlibation dargebracht (3). Zwei Stelen erwähnen speziell die Gunst des Königs, welcher Ani sein Grab verdankt (2, 4). Diese beiden weichen im Dekor ab: einmal ist Ani stehend, mit seinem opfernden Kollegen ebenfalls vor ihm stehend dargestellt, und im unteren Register erscheint ein Stier als Opfergabe (2). Das anderemal ist Ani zusammen mit dem Wagenlenker, der ihm die Stele gewidmet hat, bei der Ausfahrt dargestellt (4). Diese zwei sind, was den Inhalt anbetrifft, ohne Zweifel die moderneren, mit dem für Amarna typischen genrehaften Bildprogramm.

Natürlich stellt sich die Frage, inwieweit die Lehre von der Göttlichkeit des Lichtes allein nur eine vom König verordnete Reform war, der sich seine Höflinge mehr oder weniger überzeugt bzw. opportunistisch anschlossen. Man kann sich vorstellen, dass vielen Ägyptern die Riten bei der Beisetzung und zur Versorgung der Toten eine so lieb gewordene Tradition und so tief verwurzelte Vorsichtsmassnahme waren, dass ihnen Echnatons Licht- und Atonlehre karg und abstrakt vorkam. Als eine Lehre unter all den anderen hätte sie vermutlich fortexistieren können, als eine weitere Variante des Glaubens an den Sonnengott. Doch der Ausschluss der ganzen übrigen Götterwelt mit dem Reichsgott Amun an der Spitze, aller Stadtgötter und des Erlösergottes Osiris muss den meisten Ägyptern als ein kolossaler Verlust, ja als gefährliches Sakrileg erschienen sein. Wie schwierig der Versuch des Priesterkönigs und Propheten Echnaton gewesen sein muss, sein Volk von den alten Göttern, ihren Bildern, Mythen und Festen abzuwenden, dafür liefern andere religionshistorische Exempel, wie etwa Moses' Bemühungen, das Volk Israel auf den einen wahren Gott ein-

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zuschwören, beredte Parallelen. Echnatons Versuch ist in seiner Ausschliesslichkeit gescheitert, aber geistes- und religionshistorisch von unaufhörlichem Interesse.[12] Ramose und Bi lebten in dieser Umbruchszeit in der Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. und waren Zeugen eines der bemerkenswertesten Umwandlungsprozesse im alten Ägypten.

Beate George
Medelhavsmuseet

Anmerkungen

1 Bonhams, London, Auktion 4.7.1996, Nr. 394; Katalog Galerie Nefer, Zürich (1983): Höhe fälschlich als 30 cm angegeben. Eine kurze Präsentation auf schwedisch ist B. George, Ramose från Amarna, *En årskrönika från Statens historiska museer 1996*, Stockholm 1997, 45.

2 Ähnliche Stühle aus der 18. Dynastie sind erhalten, jedoch ziemlich niedrig und ohne Querstreben: z.B. H.S. Baker, *Furniture in the Ancient World*, London 1966, Nr. 173-176.

3 Ein ähnlicher Tisch aus Rohr ist aus dem Grab des Cha erhalten: G. Killen, *Ancient Egyptian Furniture I*, Warminster 1980, 68, Taf. 114.

4 P & M IV 209-230; N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna I-VI*, London 1903-08. Dazu existieren noch 20 weitere undekorierte Grabschächte: vgl. Th. von der Way, Überlegungen zur Jenseitsvorstellung in der Amarnazeit, *ZÄS* 123, 1996, 157-164.

5 Davies (supra Anm. 4), IV, 21f., Taf. 11, 34, 35, 45.

6 Ibidem, 21: beide Zitate.

7 Ibidem, 22, 30, Taf. 35: Davies' Lesung, die Zeichen sind zum Teil zerstört.

8 Davies (supra Anm. 4), V, 31f., Taf. 27 Zeile 9f.

9 So etwa J. Assmann, *Ägypten, eine Sinngeschichte*, München - Wien 1996, 245.

10 Grab 9: Davies (supra Anm. 4), IV, Taf. 14, 16, 23, 28.

11 Grab 23: Davies (supra Anm. 4), V, 10f, Taf. 21-23. Die Stelen befinden sich in Kairo: P. Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire I*, CGC, Le Caire 1909, Nr. 34 176-34 181.

12 Die Literatur zu Amarna ist legio: vgl. E. Hornung, *Die Religion des Lichtes*, Zürich 1995, und das Kapitel "Echnatons Umsturz" in Assmann (supra Anm. 9) mit weiteren Literaturhinweisen.

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Fig. 1
MM 1979:8, front

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A Female, Central Italic Votive Head of Terracotta

MARTIN SÖDERLIND

In 1979 Medelhavsmuseet acquired a Central Italic terracotta votive head of a woman (MM 1979:8) (Figs. 1-3).[1] No information was given as to its provenience. The piece is well preserved, except for a missing portion of the base below the chin and surface abrasion on the crown of the head and the left cheek.

Max. height: 23.5 cm.
Width between the eyes from outer corners: 7.4 cm.
Width from top of forehead (parting) to chin (turn to neck): 13.3 cm.
From indentation of mouth to chin (turn to neck): 4.4 cm.
Thickness of the moulded front (average thickness derived from three measuring spots): 4.6 cm. Thickness of the handmade back (average thickness derived from three measuring spots): 2.05 cm.
Diameter of ventilation hole in the back: 3.9 cm.
Colour (according to the Munsell Soil Color Chart): Break: 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow; Surface: varying from 5YR 7/4 pink to 5YR 6/4 - 5/4 light reddish brown to reddish brown.
Clay: Many small black inclusions, medium-fine[2], smaller than 0.1 cm in diameter, probably mica and a few large particles.
Largest size of inclusion macroscopically visible: granule 0.3 cm in diameter. No traces of paint.
Flange: 1.4 cm at top, somewhat wider at sides. Runs almost in a square with rounded corners.

The head was made in two parts: the front is moulded and the back is handmade. On the inside, the join between the front and the back is visible. The inside of the front is flat and has no striations or fingerprints. A very large amount of clay was put into the mould which makes the head heavy.

The face of the moulded front has an oval shape and very regular, simplified features. The left eye is slightly wider than the one to the right. The forehead-nose profile line is almost straight (Fig. 2). The nose is rather large but has a thin bridge. There are no nos-

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trils indicated, but the wings of the nose are clear. The mouth is straight, with a Cupid's bow hinted on the upper lip. The chin is regular and blunt. It turns at an almost 45° angle into the neck.

Since the cast derives from an exhausted mould, the detailed forms of the archetype (from which the mould of this head was cast) may partly be difficult to define. For instance, the open corners of the eyes are probably due to the exhaustion of the mould. Therefore, the eyes seem to be rendered by two curved, horizontal, plastic lines, the upper somewhat thicker.

The hair has a parting in the middle, only partly visible owing to the abrasion at the central front of the crown. On the left side (i.e. the left side proper) run three thick, wavy strands converging into three parallel, vertical rows of corkscrew curls. Only the two anterior rows are clearly visible, while the third row is best indicated at the top. Each of the two anterior rows is divided into two long locks across the temples, followed by four short ones. The curls do not seem to have continued down below the break. Though the details of the hair are less clear on the right side, it would be reasonable to assume that these strands were similar.

The back is horizontally curved while the vertical profile line (when viewed from the side, Fig. 2) is straight and is sloping outwards. This particular feature of the back may indicate that the head was once part of a statue. The back of a votive statue in Bologna, with a very similar or possibly identical type of head, has a corresponding, vertical, profile line. This would perhaps also explain the extreme thickness of the clay put into the mould.[3] If, on the other hand, it has been an isolated votive head, a possibility which cannot be excluded, the base, when once complete, must, because of the widening on the back, have been wide enough to make the head stand on its own. The hole in the centre of the back was in any case probably meant to let out the rising hot air during firing and was not intended to serve for hanging. The sloping back would in fact have made the head turn upwards if hung against a wall.[4] The back protrudes beyond the frontal part and creates a flange surrounding the head.

Heads with parallel, vertical, corkscrew curls framing the face are very frequently represented in Etrusco-Italic art. The hairstyle occurs in tomb paintings and stone sarcophagi in southern Etruria.[5]

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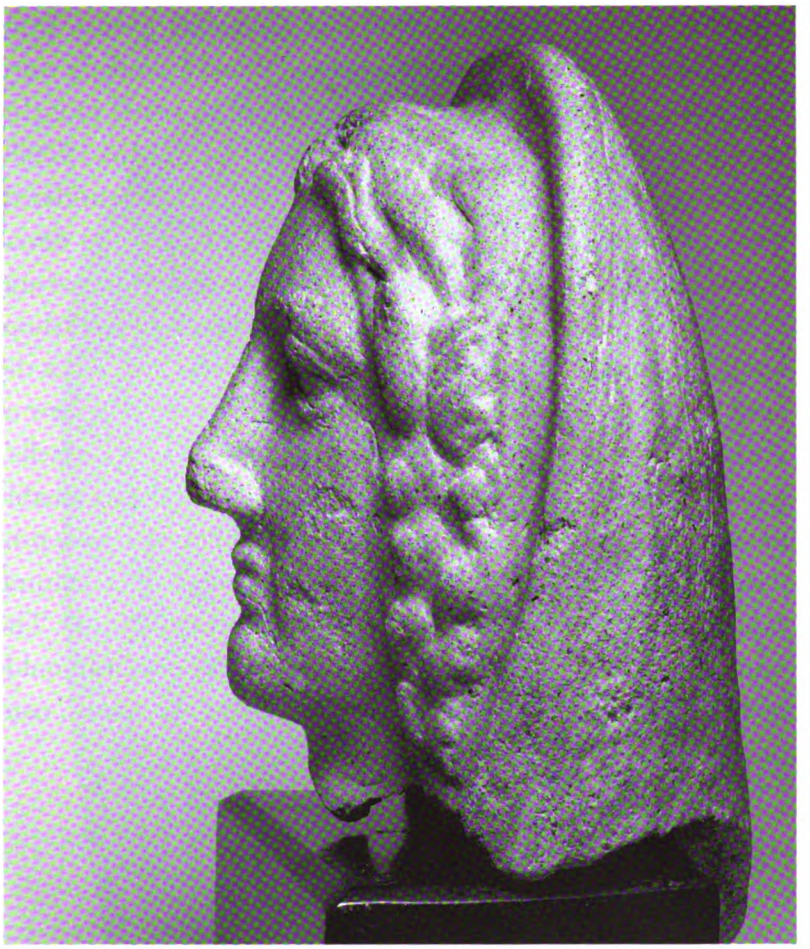

Fig. 2
MM 1979:8, profile

Among the terracotta sculpture, other votive heads offer good parallels.[6] Several of these are so similar in detail to the present head that they may derive from a common, handmade archetype.[7] Especially a group of replicas that has been arranged by Comella as deriving from the same mould have many parallels to MM 1979:8.[8] One of these is now in Florence and shows identical details of the rendered features (Fig. 4) [9], suggesting that the two heads derive not only from the same mould but from a corresponding state of exhaustion of that mould as well. The corners of the eyes, for instance, are open on the replica in Florence as well as on MM 1979:8 and the left eye is slightly wider than the right one. Furthermore, the measurements of the replica in Florence[10] correspond to those of MM 1979:8 and the colours of the clay seem to be fairly close to each other. The replica in Florence also has a hole in the back and its flange has a squarish shape with

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rounded corners. Another replica of Comella's group, from Lavinium[11], also has a squarish flange and shows a similarly worn cast, while, on the other hand, the clay is much richer in inclusions and the walls are very thin, quite contrary to MM 1979:8. Furthermore, it has no hole in the back. All things considered, while the head from Lavinium shows both parallels and deviations, the frequent parallels between the replica in Florence and MM 1979:8 may indicate a common workshop. This workshop, however, cannot be located on the basis of provenience, since the origin of the replica in Florence is also unknown. Still, in view of the known proveniences of some of the other replicas of Comella's group - Lavinium, Rome and Tarquinia [12]- it would be reasonable to suggest that MM 1979:8 and the replica in Florence were produced by the same mould either at one of these three cultural centres or somewhere else in Latium or southern Etruria. The proveniences of the other replicas from related or parallel moulds mentioned by Comella are also, with a very few exceptions, confined to this region.[13]

Fig. 3
MM 1979: 8, back

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Fig. 4
Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Inv. 4769.
From Bartoloni, pl. 19d

There are various interpretations as to the development of the motif with parallel, corkscrew curls. In a recent study, Ciaghi links this motif with some Tarantine antefixes.[14] Hafner, on the other hand, regards it when appearing on votive heads, as a particularly Etruscan phenomenon.[15] Without suggesting a final answer to this question, an observation that may be made is that the parallels between the type of MM 1979:8 and the Tarantine antefixes seem rather to be stylistic than typological. The soft outlines of the features no doubt indicate a stylistic influence while the hair of the antefixes is rather swept back from the face in flowing, wavy curls without any resemblance to parallel, corkscrew curls.[16]

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Torelli has suggested that the division of the hair into three curls on each side of the head corresponds to an ancient hairstyle, known as *seni crines,* i.e. "divided into six", mentioned in the literary sources.[17] The hair of the virgins was arranged in seni crines on their wedding day in a way that corresponded to the hairstyle of the vestal virgins on their day of consecration. The female, votive heads from Lavinium with three corkscrew curls on each side of the head are, according to Torelli, to be understood as representations of the young women in the state of the rite de passage of marriage.[18] Since MM 1979:8 also has three curls on each side, it is, of course, possible that it served a similar purpose when once donated to an unknown sanctuary. Its hairstyle is very similar to that of the Lavinian heads referred to by Torelli. On the other hand, all three curls are not rendered equally clearly, which might have been expected if they had had a particular iconographic significance.

Torelli also wants to connect the *seni crines* with the *hélikes,* curling tongs that are sometimes in the shape of small, tripartite tubes known from Iron Age tombs of women of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. in Southern Etruria and Latium.[19] The occurrence of the *hélikes* in Southern Etruria and Latium seems to correspond to the areas where the different types of votive heads with parallel, corkscrew curls are most preponderant, i.e. Latium and Southern Etruria.[20] However, it should be emphasized that corkscrew curls, as such, are far from being an exclusively Etrusco-Italic phenomenon.[21]

Due to the lack of any archaeological context, the dating has to be based exclusively on stylistic considerations. It should be kept in mind, though, that only the handmade original, the archetype, can, in the strictest sense, be the object of such considerations, since the actual dating of the cast of the head has to be made with reservation for the unknown length of life of a type through new moulds and perhaps successive derivations. The head in Florence has been dated to the end of the third or the beginning of the second century B.C. on the basis of parallels to some terracotta medallions of Alexander which have also been dated to the second century B.C.[22] However, various suggestions of an earlier dating have also been made. A stylistic resemblance to a head kantharos

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from a tomb seems to favour an attribution to the fourth century B.C.[23] Also, certain heads among those of relevance to the Florence and Stockholm examples have been dated similarly. Thus, a head in Copenhagen is attributed to the fourth century B.C.[24] and the replica in Tarquinia has been dated to the fourth century or the beginning of the third century B.C.[25] Two heads from the alleged temple of Minerva Medica on the Esquiline have also been attributed to the fourth century B.C.[26] No doubt, the parallels to the paintings of the women in the Tomba degli Scudi and Tomba dell'Orco seem to argue in favour of a dating in the fourth century B.C. or possibly the first half of the third century B.C. On the other hand, the tomb paintings belong to the art of the elite which is generally considered to have stimulated plebeian art such as the moulded terracotta votive heads.[27] Motifs such as the corkscrew curls received from the art of the elite may have lingered on for quite some time. However, there is nothing to suggest that this feature extended over two centuries down to the second century B.C.

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Abbreviations

Bartoloni G. Bartoloni, 'Alcune terrecotte votive delle collezioni Medicee ora al Museo archeologico di Firenze', *StEtr* 38,1970, 259-262.

Comella A.M. Comella, 'Tipologia e diffusione dei complessi votivi in Italia in Epoca medio- e tardo-repubblicana.', *MEFRA* 93, 1981, 717-803.

Hofter M.R. Hofter, *Untersuchungen zu Stil und Chronologie der Mittelitalischen Terrakotta-votivköpfe,* Bonn 1985.

[1] Gift from the estate of Sven Gustafsson. The votive head is mentioned by C.-G. Styrenius, 'Medelhavsmuseet', *Riksantikvarieämbetet och Statens*

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Historiska Museer, Årsbok 1979-80, 67, no. 3.

[2] The Wentworth Size Classification has been used, as referred to in A.O. Shepard, *Ceramics for the archeologist,* Washington 1980, 118. Medium = 1/2-1/4 mm². Fine = 1/4–1/8 mm².

[3] G. Hafner, 'Zwei etruskische Bildnisstatuen', in *Antike Kunstwerke aus der Sammlung Ludwig II.* Terrakotten und Bronzen, Basel 1982, Beilage 10, 220 and 224. For another example of unusually thick walls as an indication of a statue, see M. Söderlind, 'A central Italic, terracotta votive head in the Classical Museum of Antiquities in Lund', *OpRom* 20, 1996, 140, fig. 11.

[4] There are different opinions as to the function of the holes that are found in the backs of many votive heads. S. Steingräber has suggested a function to accommodate hanging, 'Zum Phänomen der etruskisch-italischen Votivköpfe', *RM* 87, 1980, 231. Also L. Vagnetti, *Il deposito votivo di Campetti a Veio,* Firenze 1971, 160. According to H. Nagy (*Votive terracottas from the "Vignaccia", Cerveteri, in the Lowie Museum of Anthropology* (Archaeologica 75), Rome 1988, 6, n. 7) an unpublished figure from Satricum shows evidence of having been hung. Some of the unpublished votive heads from Tessennano housed at Medelhavsmuseet (see S. Unge-Sörling, 'A collection of votive terrracottas from Tessennano (Vulci)', *MedMusB* 29, 1994, 47-54), and currently being studied by the author, have vertical or almost vertical vent holes. This would not have made sense if the holes were intended for hanging.

[5] Tomb paintings: Velia Seithiti, the wife of Larth Velchas in the Tomba degli Scudi, and Velia, the wife of Arnth Velchas in the Tomba dell' Orco I, both at Tarquinia (P.J. Riis, *Etruscan types of heads. A revised chronology of the Archaic and Classical terracottas of Etruscan Campania and central Italy* (Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab Historisk-filosofiske Skrifter 9:5), Copenhagen 1981, figs. 36f.). Stone sarcophagi: H. Herbig, *Die jüngeretruskischen Steinsarkophage,* Berlin 1952, nos. 24 and 139, pls. 9a and 22b.

[6] Comella, 783, Tipo BIV, fig. 19; P. Pensabene, M.A. Rizzo, M. Roghi & E. Talamo, 'Terrecotte votive dal Tevere', *StMisc* 25, 1980, pl. 118, 2; Hofter, 182, no. 94. A head and a profile head from Cales, now in Berlin (*Die Welt der Etrusker,* Berlin 1988, 292, D. 3.14 and D. 3.15); W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom,* vol. I, Tübingen 1963, 796f. A head in Museo Gregoriano Etrusco of unknown provenience (N. Pacchioni, 'Osservazioni sulle pettinature delle donne etrusche nei sarcofagi e nelle urne chiusine e perugine del III-II sec. a.C.', *StEtr* 13, 1939, 488, pl. 41, nos. 4 and 5). Two heads of unknown provenience are in Florence (Bartoloni, nos. 3-4, pls. 19 c-d). Two heads, also of unknown provenience, in Copenhagen (N. Breitenstein, *Danish National Museum, Catalogue of Terracottas,* Copenhagen 1941, 84f, nos. 799 and 800, pl. 101). Three different types, one represented by five replicas, are from Carsoli (A. Marinucci, *Stipe votiva di Carsoli. Teste fittili,* Roma 1976, 81f. and 86f., KVIIIa1, KVIII^{1a1}1, KVIII^{1a2}1, KVIII^{1a2}2, KVIII^{1a2}3, KXX, KXXIa1, pls. 31-32 and 36). A replica from Nemi (M. Christofani, 'Per una storia del collezionismo archeologico nella Toscana granducale. IV. Gli ex voto di Nemi', *Prospettiva* 1982, 78-81, fig. 1). Four different

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types from Lucera (M.C. D'Ercole, *La stipe votiva del Belvedere a Lucera* (Corpus delle Stipi Votive in Italia, III.), Roma 1990, A_2I, A_2II, A_2III and A_2V, pls. 11-12). Four heads from Cales (M. Bonghi Jovino, *Artigiani e botteghe nell'Italia preromana. Studi sulla coroplastica di area etrusco-laziale-campana* (Studia archaeologica 56), Roma 1990, 84, n. 67, pl. 5, 1). Two different types from Caere (S. Ciaghi, 'Sulla forma di una tipologia di teste votive etrusco-italiche con particolare riferimento alla produzione calena', *ibid.*, 127-145, esp. 138f., pl. 16:9). Two left–sided, profile heads of unknown provenience at Bryn Mawr and Philadelphia University Museum (K. M. Phillips, Jr., 'Four terracotta heads in the Ella Riegel Memorial Museum at Bryn Mawr', *StEtr* 33, 1965, 528-531, pls. 127b,-128, 133). A right sided, profile head derives from Ponte di Nona (T.W. Potter, *Una stipe votiva da Ponte di Nona* (Lavori e Studi di Archeologia, 13), Roma 1989, BG 373, 61-62, figs. 60 and 60a). A head from Fregellae (L. Ferrea, 'Teste votive di Fregellae,' *QArchEtr* 3, 1979, (Archeologia Laziale II), 207f., pl. 37:3).

Parallels can also be found on an antefix (Bartoloni, 261), on a head kantharos, (Hofter, 57), and on two votive statues, of which the one in Bologna is of unknown provenience (Hafner, supra n. 3) and the other from Minturno (P. Mingazzini, 'Il santuario della dea Marica alle foci del Garigliano', *MonAnt* 37, 1938, 784f., fig. 17:3, and Hofter, 58).

[7] It seems very likely that MM 1979:8 should be ascribed to Comella's type IV, which has been arranged in four main moulds (Comella, 783).

[8] Comella, 783, "matrice 1".

[9] Bartoloni, no. 4, pl. 19d.

[10] Bartoloni, 261.

[11] A. La Regina, Teste fittile votive, in *Lavinium II: Le tredici are,* Roma 1975, 206, fig. 275, C 34; This replica is also published in B.M. Thomasson, 'Deposito votivo dell'antica città di Lavinio, Pratica di Mare', *OpRom* 3, 1961, 128, no. 24, and in *Roma Medio-repubblicana.* Catalogo della mostra, Roma 1973, pl. 71, no. 469.

[12] Comella, 783. For Lavinium: see supra n. 11. For Rome: L. Gatti Lo Guzzo, *Il deposito votivo dall'Esquilino detto di Minerva Medica,* Firenze 1978, 88, G II, pl. 34. For Tarquinia: A.M. Comella, *Il deposito votivo presso L'Ara della Regina* (Archaeologica, 22), Roma 1982, 86, B_2XXXVIII, pl. 52a.

[13] The other locations are Veii, Sora, Fregellae, Monte Cassino and Anagni. One replica has been found in Bomarzo and two in Cales (Comella, 783). See also Chiagi (supra n. 6) 135, n. 9.

[14] Ciaghi (supra, n. 6), 134 and 139.

[15] G. Hafner, 'Frauen- und Mädchenbilder aus Terrakotta im Museo Gregoriano Etrusco', *RM* 72, 1965, 51.

[16] See, for instance, Ciaghi (supra n. 6), pl. 16:2.

[17] M. Torelli, *Lavinio e Roma. Riti iniziatici e matrimonio tra archeologia e storia,* Roma 1984, 33-41.

[18] Torelli (supra n. 17), 39.

[19] Torelli (supra n. 17), 34, 38 and 40-42.

[20] Supra n. 6.

[21] Hafner (supra n. 15), 50f.

[22] Bartoloni, 260f.

[23] Hofter, 59 and 64.

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[24] Riis (supra n. 5), 28-32; Hafner (supra n. 15), 51.
[25] Comella (supra n. 12), 86f.
[26] Gatti Lo Guzzo (supra n. 12).
[27] P. Pensabene, 'Doni votivi fittili di Roma: contributo per un inquadramento storico', *QArchEtr* 3, 1979 (Archeologia Laziale II), 1979, 217-222; Hofter, 120; Steingräber (supra n. 4), 246.

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A Portrait of the Roman Empress Julia Domna

HEDVIG VON EHRENHEIM

The marble bust to be presented here (NM Sk 134, Figs. 1-5) was given to the National Museum, Stockholm, in 1868 by the Swedish Prince Oscar (later King Oscar II), who had received it as a gift from F.W. Spiegelthal, the Swedish and Norwegian vice-consul in Smyrna. The latter stated that he had found it during excavations in Sardis.[1] It is now deposited at the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm.

This miniature bust is made of fine-crystalline, white marble. It is mounted on a modern base.[2] The total height is 26.5 cm, of which the base measures 5.2 cm. The other measurements are as follows: head 8.2 cm, breadth of face 5.6 cm, height of face 6.0 cm, depth of bust 10.8 cm.

There are a number of instances of minor damage to the sculpture. The nose is missing. The head, severed from the body, has been fixed to the neck no less than three times. The head-neck joint is a very exact one, and consequently the head is very likely to have originally belonged to the bust.[3]

The original, high polish of the surface, typical of Antonine and Severan sculpture, is still present. The sculpture has been mechanically cleaned (scratches from this procedure can be observed), but there are still a large number of traces of earth and dirt. Calcinated root-marks are also to be observed, for example, on the lower part of the inner support and on the surface of the neck-head fracture. The inner support appears to have been reworked in order to fit the new base and a piece of the lower inner support has been chipped off. It may be assumed that the original index tablet was removed at this point.[4]

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The face is very round (5.6 x 6.0 cm) and is turned to the right. The head is, however, not bent. The forehead is low. The big eyes, which differ somewhat in size, look up to the right. The eyelids are heavy and there is an indication of bags under the eyes. Iris and pupil are marked. The iris occupies a large part of the eyes and the incised lines form three-quarter circles. The iris goes all the way down to the lower eyelid. The pupils, placed just below the upper eyelid, are marked with two drill-holes in each eye. A very small area between the drill-holes is left intact, so as to reflect the light and give an illusion of reality.[5] Both the lower eyelids are marked by an extra, thin line just under the eye. The arched eyebrows are carved and the superciliary arches are accentuated and stand out a little from the forehead. The mouth is small and shows a firm smile. The upper lip is fairly short. From the wings of the nose and downwards, light furrows are indicated. Looking at the profile, one notices that the area just below the lower lip is curved inwards. There is also a tendency to a doublechin. The forehead is a little curved inwards at the middle. All in all the portrait has a stylized character.

The woman depicted has a very distinctive hairstyle. The hair has the character of a wig; it does not appear to grow naturally from the skull but is rather put on, like a cap. Some tiny streaks of supposedly original hair can be observed on the forehead. From a parting in the middle, the hair is divided into nine rolls on each side. These rolls are in turn carved with small "waves", running straight across them. From about the height of the eyebrows, a braid emerges on each side of the cheek. The braids are "twined" and furnished with small, diagonal scores, and they follow the "wig" along its sides to the neck, where they meet. On each cheek, there is a lock of hair that emerges from under each braid. At the back of the skull, the hair from the rolls is gathered in a queue-knot, wound three times round. To underline the braid structure of the queue-knot, the braids are furnished with a zigzag pattern, which on the innermost braid passes over into diagonal lines.

The woman bears a stola and a palla, the first pairs of clavi of the stola being visible. The palla is draped around the shoulders, its left flap folded over the right part of the garment. The folds are

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Fig. 1
NM Sk 134

deeply drilled and the edges of the palla are turned up at the back. This formation of the bust is a variation of a type common from late Hadrianic to Severan times.[6]

The back side of the palla encloses the inner support. The inner support is fairly thick and curved inwards on the sides, a strong indication of an ancient origin of the bust.[7]

Identification

The hair, the formation of the pupil and the bust place the portrait in the category of Severan sculpture. The hairstyle at once indicates that here we may have a portrait of Septimius Severus' wife

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Figs. 2-5. NM Sk 134

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Julia Domna (193-211, died in 217). Both the possibilities that the portrait depicts another lady of the imperial house or a lady not belonging to it who imitated the empress' hairstyle can be excluded. On issues of coins from the Mint of Rome only Julia Domna is depicted with the so-called Lepcis hairstyle, shown also in the Stockholm portrait, see below.[8] Furthermore, the ladies who imitated the Lepcis hairstyles are not depicted with the empress' characteristic facial features. Moreover, their hairstyles often show such a large variation that they fall outside the frame of the Lepcis types.[9]

There are three kinds of evidence as to the empress' iconography. Firstly, there is the numismatic evidence, the basis when establishing an iconography. This has been thoroughly treated by P.V. Hill.[10] Julia Domna's first hairstyle, with her hair gathered in a large bun at the back of her head, appears with the obverse legends IVLIA DOMNA AVGVSTA (194-195) and IVLIA AVGVSTA (195-211).[11] However, this first hairstyle went out of use in 209.[12] There are three types of coiffure with braids along the sides, and these are used with the obverse legends IVLIA AVGVSTA (195-211) and IVLIA PIA FELIX AVGVSTA (211-217). The earliest of these three types appears to be that in which the empress is depicted with braids along the sides and a bun at the nape of the neck (Fig. 6). This type was in use from 207 to 215. Then followed a fairly unusual type, that with braids and a large queue-knot at the nape of the neck, a knot that appears almost to have been "pressed in" into the skull (Fig. 7). This coiffure is represented on coins from 207.[13] The hairstyle that appears to be the latest one has also got braids along the sides, but now the queue-knot is very small (Fig. 8). This type was used between 208 and 217.[14] In 218, there were only a few posthumous coins with the legend DIVA IVLIA AVGVSTA.[15]

NM Sk 134 wears braids along the sides and a rather large queue-knot at the nape of the neck, which does not extend the volume of the head. The coin-portraits to which it corresponds most closely are those with braids and a large queue-knot. This type is unusual, as already mentioned. Since there are no sculptured portraits with the combination of braids and bun, as will be shown below, and since the sculptured portraits with a small queue-

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Figs. 6-8
Coin portraits of Julia Domna

6: Denarius.
IVLIA PIA FELIX AVGVSTA,
***RIC* 373a**

7: Dupondius.
IVLIA AVGVSTA,
***RIC* 892a**

8: Antoninianus.
IVLIA PIA FELIX AVGVSTA,
***RIC* 379a**

Courtesy Royal Coin Cabinet, Stockholm.
Photo Jan Eve Olsson

knot form a group of their own, it may be reasonable to associate NM Sk 134 with two cointypes, the one with braids in combination with a bun, (Fig. 6), and the one with braids in combination with a large queue-knot, (Fig. 7). These coins were issued in the period 207-215.

Secondly, two triumphal arches provide evidence as to the empress' iconography in the form of reliefs. On the arch of the Argentarii in Rome, Julia Domna is depicted with her early hairstyle, without the braids along the sides. On the arch at Lepcis Magna, however, the empress is depicted in five scenes, and in four of these she wears the later coiffure, "the Lepcis type", named after the arch. On three of these reliefs, she wears the coiffure with braids and a large queue-knot ("Lepcis A"), and on one (as Juno) she is wearing the later, "Lepcis B" coiffure, see below.[16]

The hairstyle of NM Sk 134 and the hairstyle with which the empress is depicted on the three reliefs with the "Lepcis A" type at Lepcis Magna go well together. The rolls are present (although only eight in number on the reliefs), as are also the braids along the sides and the small locks of hair on the cheeks. The hair has the appearance of a wig. The faces are also similar, with their big eyes, arched eyebrows and small mouths.

The dating of the arch at Lepcis Magna has been a matter of debate. A reasonable date is 206-209, perhaps with a stress on the year 207.[17]

Thirdly, we come to the three-dimensional portraits of Julia Domna. They have been thoroughly treated by J. Meischner and R. Schlüter.[18] They have been divided into three major groups: the Gabii type, after one of the portraits with this hairstyle found in Gabii,[19] and the Lepcis A and Lepcis B types, after the hair-

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styles on the Lepcis Magna arch. On the Gabii type, the empress wears her hair divided into 9-10 rolls, beginning with a depression at the parting of the hair in the middle.[20] The hair entirely covers the ears, and on the cheeks small locks are present. Also, small streaks of hair can be noticed on the forehead. A large knot of hair covers the back of the head; one might almost speak of a "cushion" instead of a knot.

The faces generally have large eyes that look up to the right accompanied, in some cases, by a bend of the head. The eyelids are heavy. Often an extra line is incised on the lower eyelid. There is a light indication of bags under the eyes. The arched eyebrows are marked and have a tendency to grow together. The forehead is rather low and in profile one may note that it is slightly concave in the middle.[21] The empress is usually depicted with a smile. The area just below the lower lip is concave. She also has an indication of a double chin.

It is difficult to establish any clear differences between the faces of the Gabii and the Lepcis types. Most of the above-mentioned, facial traits remain.[22] A general difference is that the eyes are often more emphasized on the Lepcis types than on the Gabii type and that the faces appear more stylized. Schlüter also notes signs of ageing on the faces of some replicas of the Lepcis types.

The hairstyles, however, are quite different. The Lepcis hairstyles are strongly suggestive of a wig, with ten rolls on the Lepcis A type.[23] The first pair of rolls emerges directly from the parting of the hair in the middle, not as in the Gabii type where the formation of rolls begins with a sinking. On the cheeks, small locks are present. Along the sides and round the mass of hair, there are two braids that join at the neck. At the nape of the neck from about eyebrow level, there is a queue-knot wound three or three and a half times. The knot does not go all the way down to the neck. The structure of the braids is indicated by a zigzag pattern. The queue-knot is oval, but, seen in profile, it gives a triangular appearance.

The Lepcis B variant has only eight rolls. The first pair of rolls is broader and flatter than the rest. Furthermore, the braids along the sides do not follow the hair on the outside but disappear underneath the mass of hair. Small streaks of hair on the forehead

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Figs. 9
Museo delle Terme (Museo Nazionale Romano), Inv. 4259. Courtesy DAI Rome

can sometimes be noted. The queue-knot at the nape of the neck is strikingly smaller than on Lepcis A, and reaches about the same level as the lower eyelid. As for the facial features, general differences between the Lepcis A and B types are not easily distinguished.

The portraits can be dated conjecturally partly from numismatic evidence and partly from inscriptions on statue bases.[24] The numismatic evidence that is of relevance dates the Gabii type to the period 194-209[25], the Lepcis A type to 206/207-215 [26], and the Lepcis B type to 207/208-217. The very limited number of

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Figs. 10-12
Museo delle Terme (Museo Nazionale Romano), Inv. 4259. Courtesy DAI Rome

consecration coins (after 218), as well as the fact that only two posthumous portrait-inscriptions remain, indicate that the number of posthumous portraits was limited.

On comparing the characteristics of NM Sk 134 with the different types of portraits of Julia Domna, the Lepcis A type would seem to be the best equivalent. The hairstyle agrees very well with that of the Lepcis A type. The general facial traits at once indicate a portrait of Julia Domna. As for the facial type, the Lepcis type would again, on the basis of the big eyes and the stylization of the face, be the best equivalent. NM Sk 134 corresponds best, in my opinion, firstly to the Museo delle Terme (Museo Nazionale Romano) Inv. 4259, a miniature, Lepcis A portrait type (Figs. 9-12). The size and hairstyle of NM Sk 134 fit those of the Museo delle Terme Inv. 4259 (although the back of the head is much flatter and the hair less voluminous in NM Sk 134). The facial markings also agree (large eyes, small, smiling mouth, low forehead, small, straight nose, concave areas at the forehead and below the mouth), although NM Sk 134 has a much broader face. The eyes of NM Sk 134 are also more oval and the pupils are formed with a larger area left between the drill-holes to reflect the light. The iris does not "float", as it does in the Museo delle Terme Inv. 4259 (the iris touches the lower eyelid on NM Sk 134). All in all, NM Sk 134 gives a more carefully elaborated impression.

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Figs. 13-14
Nasjonalgalleriet, Oslo,
Inv. NG. S. 1022.
Courtesy Nasjonalgalleriet, Oslo

General conclusions from the fact that NM Sk 134 and the Museo delle Terme Inv. 4259 are miniature portraits are not easily drawn. The four (five, including NM Sk 134), known, miniature portraits (both of the Gabii and Lepcis types) form a group that is too small for this purpose.[27]

The facial features of NM Sk 134 also agree well with those of the Nasjonalgalleriet, Oslo, Inv. NG S 1022 (a portrait of the Lepcis B type) (Figs. 13-14), in the general traits, as well as in the oval eyes.[28] In NM Sk 134 and in NG S 1022, the eyes and upper eyelids differ in size and in both portraits an incised line on the

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Figs. 15-16
Izmit Museum, Inv. 702.
From J. Inan & E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum,
Römische und frühbyzantinische Porträtplastik aus der Türkei. Neue Funde,
Mainz am Rhein 1979,
no. 89, pl. 79, 3-4

lower eyelid can be observed. However, the pupils of NG S 1022 are formed by two drill-holes at a small distance from each other, and the iris does not join the lower eyelid, as it does in NM Sk 134. And, of course, NM Sk 134 has a much broader face.

NM Sk 134 also resembles a portrait in the Izmit museum, Inv. 702 (Figs. 15-16). The portraits have the typical Lepcis A hairstyle and the facial features of Julia Domna: big eyes turned to the right, small, smiling mouth, marked eyebrows, low forehead, concave area below the mouth, an indication of a double chin. Moreover the faces show the same roundness. The area around the eyes on NM Sk 134 is, however, not as sharply defined as in the portrait in Izmit. Jale Inan writes in her publication of this piece that the face is so different from other sculptures of the

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empress that it must be regarded as a private portrait.[29] Jutta Meischner, though, is of the opinion that the facial features agree well with other portraits of Julia Domna and that the sculpture is a portrait of the empress.[30] Considering that the sculpture in Izmit is rather stylized, with the specific traits of the empress on both hair and face, an identification with Julia Domna would be very likely. The same arguments support the identification of the piece in the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm, as a portrait of Julia Domna.[31]

Conclusion

An identification of NM Sk 134 as a portrait of the Severan empress Julia Domna is highly likely: the hairstyle and facial features go well together with the portraits of the empress of the Lepcis A type. This particular hairstyle can be dated conjecturally from numismatic evidence to the period 206/7-215. It can, however, not be excluded that this type was in use on sculpted portraits after it had been abandoned in coin production. On the other hand, since the posthumous portraits are so scarce, it is not as likely that NM Sk 134 was made after 217. A wider dating may be between 206 and 217.

As regards the use of this charming piece, the size itself contradicts any official use.[32] It is said to have been found in Sardis. The imperial cult flourished especially in the eastern parts of the Roman Empire and the miniature portraits brought this cult into the homes of private citizens. Ancient texts bear witness to the presence of imperial portraits in the lararia of the Roman houses. This may have been the original location of the bust.

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Acknowledgements

I wish to thank Charlotte Scheffer, Eva Rystedt, Karen Slej and Johan Flemberg for valuable help with the manuscript.

In addition to the abbreviations recommended in *AJA* 95, 1991, 1-16, the following are used:

Meischner J. Meischner, *Das Frauenporträt der Severerzeit,* Diss. Berlin 1964.

Schlüter R. Schlüter, *Die Bildnisse der Kaiserin Iulia Domna,* Diss. Münster 1971 (pr.1977).

[1] This is not at all improbable. Spiegelthal is mentioned as having participated in French excavations in Syria and Palestine (*Katalog over skulptur og kunstindustri, Nasjonalgalleriet,* Oslo 1952, 5). Furthermore, there is the information that, as he was also the consul for Prussia, he participated in an excavation at Bin Tepe outside Sardis in 1853 (G.M.A. Hanfmann & N.H. Ramage, *Sculpture from Sardis: the finds through 1975,* Cambridge, Mass.,& London 1978, 3; *Königliche Museen zu Berlin: Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen mit Ausschluss der pergamenischen Fundstücken,* Berlin 1891, 261, no. 702, 354, no. 883). One of the other pieces that Spiegelthal sent along with NM Sk 134 was, however, declared to be false by Karina Türr in 1976 (K. Türr, *Fälschungen antiker Plastik seit 1800,* Berlin 1984, 148f.). This false piece may have been added to enhance the value of the other, genuine, pieces. Moreover, many details of a technical and antiquarian nature give a convincing picture of an antique origin of NM Sk 134 (see below).

[2] The base can be roughly described as two circular plates joined by a pronounced, concave, intermediary part. The base shows no signs of damage or traces of earth. These indications point to a modern formation of the base. The antiquarian observations also confirm this. On antique busts the index tablet was formed as an extension of the inner support, while the base, when it formed a separate unit, was fastened below the index tablet. Here, however, the index tablet is a part of the base. The intermediary part also appears much more concave than is usual in antique bases (U. Müller-Kaspar, Das sogennante Falsche am Echten. *Antikenergänzungen im späteren 18. Jahrhundert in Rom,* Diss. Bonn 1988, 82-84, 90).

[3] I am grateful for the discussions that I had with E. Tebelius Murén, the conservator at the National Museum in Stockholm, on this topic. The oldest 19th-century restoration, in which not only the head was fastened to the neck but also two missing pieces of the upfolded *palla* at the back were restored, was made with dowels and rosin. A later restoration was made in 1975 (the head and one of the restored, missing pieces of the *palla* was fastened with polyester). In 1994, E. Tebelius Murén remade the head-neck attachment. The joint of the restored piece of the *palla* that still remains is too smooth to be a natural break. Furthermore, the upper edge of the palla is not lowered, as one would expect if a natural break had been ground. This restored piece of the *palla* may be modern.

[4] The lower part of the back, on both sides of the inner support, has a

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strong, brownish-yellow discoloration. This discoloration can also be found on the upper part of the inner support. However, the concave areas on both upper sides of the inner support are remarkably white, a fact that may be explained by the statue having lain on its back in the soil and the concave areas having formed air pockets. The whiteness of the lower part of the inner support may be explained if a detail is added: there are, on the lower, right-hand side of the inner support, traces of damage from some form of grooved chisel, a treatment typical of the late 18th century (Müller-Kaspar (supra n. 2), 223, fig. 27). On antique busts, as mentioned earlier, the index tablet was formed as an extension of the inner support, while the base, if it formed a separate part, was fastened under the index tablet (Müller-Kaspar (supra n. 2), 83f., 90).

[5] This way of marking the pupils is characteristic of late Antonine and Severan sculpture. The two drill-holes can also be placed at a small distance from each other or be placed so close to each other that no area is left to reflect the light. See M. Wegner, *Die Herrscherbildnisse in antoninischer Zeit* (Das römische Herrscherbild, II:4), Berlin 1939, 83; the catalogue of A.M. McCann, *The portraits of Septimius Severus AD 193-211* (MAAR, 30), Rome 1968; D. Soechting, *Die Porträts des Septimius Severus,* Bonn 1972, 87, 92, 95, 99.

[6] K. Fittschen & P. Zanker, *Katalog der römischen Porträts in den Capitolinischen Museen und den anderen kommunalen Sammlungen der Stadt Rom* III. *Kaiserinnen- und Prinzessinnenbildnisse. Frauenporträts,* Mainz am Rhein 1983, 19f. An example of the middle-to-late Antonine bust form: Faustina minor (161-170), op.cit., 21f., no. 20, pl. 27. See also H.R. Goette 'Zweimal Iulia Domna', *RM* 93, 1986, 248, and K. Parlasca, 'Eine Julia Domna-Büste aus der Sammlung Friedrichs des Grossen', *RM* 77, 1970, pl. 57.

[7] Müller-Kaspar (supra n. 2), 83, 90, 219f., figs. 19-22.

[8] Meischner, the table of coin-portraits. There are, however, provincial issues in which Julia Maesa (sister of Julia Domna), Julia Soemias and Julia Mamaea (daughters of Julia Maesa) are depicted with variants of the Lepcis type (Meischner, note 30). The portraits on the coins referred to are variants, not iconographically pure examples, of the Lepcis types. Often, when the coin or stamp is worn down, it is difficult to distinguish the hairstyle (especially the braids along the sides tend to wear off). *SNG v. Aulock* 11, 4591 (the only example cited of Soemias with this hairstyle), *SNG v. Aulock* 12, 5180f., and *SNG Kopenhagen* 37, 263f. (Julia Maesa) I found to be uncertain (very worn or iconographically not corresponding to the Lepcis types). None of these ladies has the Lepcis hairstyle on coins from the Mint of Rome and as for the sculpted portraits, only Julia Mamaea has an established iconography, and neither her hair nor her facial appearance resembles those of Julia Domna (H.B. Wiggers & M. Wegner, *Caracalla. Geta. Plautilla. Macrinus bis Balbinus* (Das römische Herrscherbild III:1), Berlin 1971, 153-155, pls. 36-37 (Julia Maesa); 161-163, pl. 35 (Julia Soemias); 200-205, pls. 57-64 (Julia Mamaea). If it had been desirable to sculpt Julia Mamaea with a Lepcis hairstyle, she would certainly have been depicted with her characteristic features. As for Julia Maesa and Julia Soemias, the coin issues from the Mint of Rome form the basis on which an iconography may be attempted. Neither of them is depicted with a Lepcis hairstyle on these coins,

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and therefore the provincial issues must be seen as issues irrelevant to the iconography, having resulted from a period of inner turbulence when there were no certain portrait types to be obtained.

[9] There are a number of examples of ladies with variations on the Lepcis hairstyle: Museo Capitolino, Sala delle Colombe 42, Inv. 388 (Fittschen & Zanker (supra n. 6), 100, no. 146, pl. 175; Museo Capitolino, Magasin, Inv. 1853 (op.cit., 100f., no. 147, pl. 176); Museo Capitolino, Sala delle Colombe 26, Inv. 681 (op.cit., 101, no. 148, pls. 176-177); Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien (Meischner, 150, no. 67, pl. 105); Villa Doria Pamphili, sarcophagus (M. Wegner, 'Bildnisbüsten im 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr.' in *Festschrift für Gerhard Kleiner,* Tübingen 1976, 131f., pl. 25); Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Inv. 805 (V. Poulsen, *Les portraits romains* II. *De Vespasien à la Basse-antiquité,* Copenhague 1974, 159, no. 162, pl. 259 and F. Johansen, *Roman portraits* III. *Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Catalogue,* Copenhagen 1995, 94, no. 37); Museo Profano Lateranense, Sala 10, no. 606, Inv. 10187 (A. Giuliano, *Catalogo dei ritratti romani del Museo Profano Lateranense,* Città del Vaticano 1957, 65, no. 75, pl. 45). The last portrait has in fact earlier been described as that of Julia Domna (by Giuliano, W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom* I. *Die Päpstlichen Sammlungen im Vatikan und Lateran,* Tübingen 1963, 794, no. 1107 and by K. Buchholz, *Die Bildnisse der Kaiserinnen der severischen Zeit nach ihren Frisuren (193-235 n. Chr.),* Diss. Frankfurt am Main 1963, 143). According to Schlüter (156) this is not a lady of the imperial house. That the lady cannot be Julia Domna stands out as obvious when one looks at the woman's round cheeks, squinting eyes and iconographically irregular hairstyle.

[10] P.V. Hill, *The coinage of Septimius Severus and his family of the Mint of Rome AD 193-217,* London 1964. The datings in my text follow those of Hill.

[11] For the dating of the obverse legends, see Hill (supra n. 10), 11; Meischner, 15. H. Mattingly, though, considers that coins with the first legend were issued until 196 (*BMCRE* V, xciii).

[12] For the dating of the hairstyles, see Hill (supra n. 10), 8. Meischner also sets up a dating of the hairstyles, which does not correspond wholly with that of Hill. She includes four more types of coiffure than Hill does (Meischner, table, types 1b, 2, 3 and 5) and dates provincial coins from Asia (where the imperial family was frequently depicted on coins). Her conclusions have been criticised by Schlüter (117, nn. 36 and 37), who excludes Meischner's types 1b, 2, 3 and 5 as separate types and writes that, although the dating of the provincial coins often differs considerably from that of the coins from the Mint of Rome, the number of accurately dated provincial coins is not so great as Meischner indicates. Here I agree with Schlüter. A thorough look at the hairstyles on the provincial coins shows that they often vary considerably from those on the Imperial coins (see also A. Burnett, M. Amandry & P. Ripollès, *Roman provincial coinage* I. *From the death of Caesar to the death of Vitellius,* London & Paris 1992, 42, for the same conditions in that period).

[13] According to Hill, the type with a large queue-knot and braids was issued only in 207 (Li (var.)) and in 215 (Liii (var. 2)). Fig. 9 (of Liii (var. 2)), however, bears a small queue-knot. Maybe only the year 207 is of

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relevance. This unusual type is also shown on provincial coinage. According to Meischner (note 28), the hairstyle with a large queue-knot and braids appears on a coin from Laodicea in 210 (not published).

[14] In her survey of provincial coins, Meischner also dates a coin in the Berliner Münzkabinett of the type with small queue-knot and braids to the year 206, which in fact antedates the appearance of this type on the coins from the Mint of Rome (note 29). This coin has now been published and dated to 214/5 (W.H. Waddington, E. Babelon & T. Reinach, *Recueil général des monnaies grecques d'Asie Mineure,* Hildesheim 1976, 204, no. 127).

[15] *BMCRE* V, ccxlvi; *RIC* IV, 89.

[16] This is Schlüter's division. She identifies the Lepcis B type on a pillar relief on the Lepcis Magna arch (Schlüter, 68). Meischner (50, no. 38), calls the Lepcis B type "typus Berlin" after a now missing portrait in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin. Schlüter (128f.) holds this replica to be a pasticcio or a fake, while Parlasca (supra n. 6, 123-131) considers the replica to be a pasticcio consisting of original parts. The whole Lepcis type has earlier also been called the "Typus Fesch" after a now missing sculpture in the so-called Fesch Collection (see J.J. Bernoulli, *Römische Ikonographie* 2. *Die Bildnisse der römischen Kaiser* III. *Von Pertinax bis Theodosius,* Berlin, Stuttgart & Leipzig 1894, 44; Schlüter, 172).

[17] V.M. Strocka 'Beobachtungen an den Attikareliefs des severischen Quadrifons von Lepcis Magna', *AntAfr* 6, 1972, 170; McCann (supra n. 5), 76; Soechting (supra n. 5), 107f. Here, both iconographic and numismatic evidence concerning the imperial family's journey to Africa is taken into consideration.

[18] J. Meischner, *Das Frauenporträt der Severerzeit,* Diss. Berlin 1964; R. Schlüter, *Die Bildnisse der Kaiserin Iulia Domna,* Diss. Münster 1971 (pr. 1977).

[19] Now in the Louvre, Inv. 1107; see Bernoulli (supra n. 16), pl. 16 a-b. The most complete catalogue of portraits of Julia Domna is to be found in Schlüter, 126-175. Schlüter's identification of the relief in the Akropolis Museum, Inv. 2426 (Schlüter, 127) has been questioned (F. Ghedini, *Giulia Domna tra Oriente e Occidente. Le fonti archeologiche,* Roma 1984, 132, fig. 15). Fittschen has made additions to the Gabii type (Fittschen & Zanker (supra n. 6), 27f.). The following portraits of the Lepcis types may be added to Schlüter's list: Izmit Museum Inv. 702 (J. Inan & E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum, *Römische und frühbyzantinische Porträtplastik aus der Türkei. Neue Funde,* Mainz am Rhein 1979, 144, no. 89, pl. 79. See also discussion below); J. Meischner, 'Fragen zur römischen Porträtgeschichte unter besonderer Berücksichtigung kleinasiatischer Beispiele", *BJb* 181, 1981, 145f.), Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, to be published (K. Fittschen, 'Two portraits of Septimius Severus and Julia Domna', *Indiana University Art Museum Bulletin* 2, 1977-78, 43, note 55).

[20] Here I am primarily thinking of three representative replicas of the Gabii type: Louvre 1103 (Parlasca (supra n. 6), pl. 57) and 1107 (Bernoulli (supra n. 16), pl. 16 a-b), and a miniature head in the Museo Vaticano, Magasin 728, Inv. 3738 (G. Kaschnitz-Weinberg, *Sculture del Magazzino del Museo Vaticano* 1-2, Città del Vaticano 1936-37, 297, no. 728, pl. 113).

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[21] Both Meischner (35) and Schlüter (25f.) think that this detail is present on almost all portraits of Julia Domna. In some instances, the personal characteristics of the empress, such as this one, started a fashion among the private portraits (see Meischner, 132, and Museo Capitolino Inv. 388, Fittschen & Zanker (supra n. 6), pl. 175, no. 146).

[22] Here I am thinking especially of the following portraits of the Lepcis A type: Museo Vaticano, Braccio Nuovo 92, Inv. 2180 (Rom. Inst. Neg. 631), Museo delle Terme (Museo Nazionale Romano) Inv. 4259 (B.M. Felletti-Maj, *Museo Nazionale Romano. I ritratti,* Roma 1953, 131, no. 258), Museo Archeologico, Milan, Inv. A 09.1407 (E. Camporini, 'Sculture a tutto tondo del Museo Civico Archeologico di Milano provenienti dal territorio municipale e da altri municipia', *CSIR,* Italia Regio, XI. Milan 1979, 96-98, pl. 57, fig. 82 a-b), Palazzo Ducale, Mantua, Inv. 6746 (D. Mantovani, 'Ritratto di Giulia Domna nel Museo del Palazzo Ducale di Mantova', *Civiltà mantovana* 12, 1978, 1-11, figs. 1-5), and the following portraits of the Lepcis B type: Museo Torlonia no. 582 (Meischner, pl. 45), Nasjonalgalleriet, Oslo, Inv. NG.S.1022 (Nasjonalgalleriet, negs. 163, 636c), Musée Archéologique, Nîmes, Inv. 891.25.18 (É. Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Gaule romaine* (Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, Sér. 3:22), vol. 3, 1910, 441, no. 2697). See also Meischner, 48, 52, and Schlüter, 73-85, for comments on the facial features of the Lepcis types.

[23] Nine rolls on the Museo delle Terme (Museo Nazionale Romano) Inv. 4259 — a miniature portrait. The Avignon, Musée Calvet Inv. G 151 (Espérandieu (supra n. 22), 379, no. 2555) is also an exception to this rule, with its nine rolls. This portrait is considered to be a pasticcio dating from the 18th century (according to information from E. Cavalier, the restorer at the Musée Calvet, Jan. 1994). According to Schlüter (127) only the hair is genuine.

[24] Schlüter has dated Julia Domna's portraits from coin evidence (56f., 87f.), relying on P.V. Hill's monograph. J. Fejfer has made a survey of inscriptions on statue bases: 'Official Portraits of Julia Domna' in *Ritratto ufficiale e ritratto privato,* Roma 1988, 295-301. Of the remaining inscriptions, 70 come from the reign of Septimius Severus (193-211), 24 from the reign of Caracalla (211-217), and 18 may belong to either reign. The overwhelming majority (two exceptions) mention Julia Domna with the title of Mater Castrorum, a title she received in 195. This agrees well with the fact that the coin production did not start until 194 (Hill (supra n. 10), 11). During the years 195-199, a large number of statues appear to have been erected, as well as in 209 (the year when Geta was made *augustus*). One can see that the popularity of the empress did not diminish during the reign of Caracalla. However, only two inscriptions can be dated after her death in 217. This also agrees with the numismatic evidence. Posthumous portraits must therefore have been scarce. The inscriptions cannot give us much of a lead as regards the dating of separate types of Julia Domna portraits, except in one instance. A statue-base found in Ostia near a head of Julia Domna, type Lepcis B, has been dated, on account of an adjacent statue-base of Caracalla, to 10/12 206-10/12 207. The dating of Lepcis B from coin evidence is in the period 207/208-217. These two ways of dating Lepcis B are not

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necessarily opposed to each other: the statue could still have been erected in 207. It is also very profitable to compare Fejfer's results with those of S. Sowers Lusnia in her article 'Julia Domna's coinage and Severan dynastic propaganda', *Latomus* 54, 1995, 119-139. Both papers point to a small number of statues and new coin issues during the years 203-208, and a new increase in popularity from the year 209.

[25] Since no coins depicting Julia Domna were issued before 194, it can be assumed that no large-scale production of portraits occurred before that date, a fact which is also supported by the small number of statue bases. Considering the political disturbances, this is not illogical.

[26] The hairstyle on the coins on which the empress wears braids along the sides and a bun at the nape of the neck must be interpreted as equivalent to the Lepcis A type. The years 206 for Lepcis A and 207 for Lepcis B have been added in consideration of a certain delay in the forthcoming issues. See Schlüter, 87. During most years, only one yearly, new set of substantive types was issued for Julia Domna. This type appeared during the first regular issue of the year (P.V. Hill, 'Notes on the coinage of Septimius Severus and his family, AD 193-217', *NC* 4, 1964, 173).

Fittschen (supra n. 19, 39) has suggested 204 as the probable year of the introduction of this hairstyle in sculpture, on the occasion of the secular festivities of that year. The question might then arise as to why the Mints of Rome waited for three years to introduce this important change, when so many other data were recorded with care.

[27] Apart from the head in Stockholm, there are four miniature sculptures, as follows: The Agora museum Inv. S 1977, a miniature head of the Gabii type, formerly identified as that of Julia Domna. Schlüter (126) opposes this identification, but Meischner (32, no. 22, 41) and A. Datsoule-Stauride ('Eikonistika A', *ArchDelt* 29, 1974, 192f., fig. 123) agree with it. Staatliche Museen, Berlin, Inv. SK 458 (C. Blümel, *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Römische Bildnisse,* Berlin 1933, 37, R 88, fig. 70). This was formerly regarded as an anonymous lady, but, according to Meischner (50, no. 39) and Schlüter (129) it is Julia Domna, although with a strongly provincial appearance. Further, there is the Museo delle Terme (Museo Nazionale Romano) Inv. 4259, Lepcis A type (Felletti-Maj (supra n. 22), 131, no. 258), Figs. 9-12, and the Vatican Magasin 728, Inv. 3738, a Gabii type (Kaschnitz-Weinberg (supra n. 20), 297, no. 728, pl. 113).

It is impossible to draw any general conclusions about miniature sculpture from this small material. The Staatliche Museen Inv. SK 458 is a very special, heavily mended piece. The Agora museum S 1977 is of disputed identity. General differences from large-scale portraiture in the two other portraits may be ascribed to the format: small nose, one pair less of rolls in the hair than the usual number for the type.

[28] See *Greek and Roman portraits in Norwegian collections* (ActaAArtHist 10), eds. S. Sande & L. Holm Monssen, Rome 1991, 83f., no. 68.

[29] Inan & Alföldi-Rosenbaum (supra n. 19), 144, no. 89, pl. 79.

[30] Meischner (supra n. 19), 145f.

[31] One interesting observation is that these two sculptures, the Izmit Museum Inv. 702 and the NM Sk 134 in Stockholm, are the only portraits of Julia Domna known today from Asia Minor. C. Vermeule mentions in his *Roman imperial art in Greece and Asia Minor,* Cambridge, Mass.,

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1968, 400, that there are four portraits of Julia Domna in the eastern part of the Mediterranean world, excepting the famous Egyptian painted tondo. Two of the portraits must be excluded entirely: the portrait from Bursa cannot be one of Julia Domna (Schlüter, 130) and the one from Athens does not exist (Schlüter, 127). One bronze head of the Gabii type comes from Salimiyeh in Syria (Vermeule, op.cit., fig. 158). The last of Vermeule's examples comes from the Athenian Agora, but it is uncertain whether it is a portrait of Julia Domna (see supra n. 27).

[32] See B. Schneider, *Studien zu den kleinformatigen Kaiserportraits von den Anfängen der Kaiserzeit bis ins dritte Jahrhundert,* Diss. München 1976, 107f., 146, 150, 155f., 158. Not all scholars share Schneider's opinion on the ruler cult in private houses. E. Bickerman, for example, states that there is very scarce archaeological evidence of ruler portraits being placed in private houses ('Consecratio', in *Le culte des souverains dans l'empire romain,* ed. W. den Boer, Genève 1972, 5f.). S.R.F. Price, among others, has criticised the opinion of Bickerman and stated that such evidence indeed exists (*Rituals and power. The Roman imperial cult in Asia Minor,* Cambridge 1984, 119-121). Cf. also ANRW II, 16.2, 939, where H. von Hesberg, although he writes that there is no certain proof, literal or archaeological, sees it as a clear possibility that miniature imperial portraits were used to honour the imperial family in private houses.

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Abb. 1-6 Statuette. Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm, MM 1981:3

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Eine Statuette der Athena Parthenos in Stockholm

GABRIELE NICK

Das Medelhavsmuseet in Stockholm erwarb 1981 im Baseler Kunsthandel eine bisher noch nicht publizierte Marmorstatuette, die das berühmte Kultbild des Phidias, das im Parthenon auf der Akropolis von Athen stand, nachbildet (Abb. 1-6).[1] Leider ist die Statuette nicht vollständig erhalten. Es fehlen der Kopf, der als Einsatzkopf gearbeitet war, der rechte Arm ab dem Oberarm, der linke Arm oberhalb des Ellbogens bis zum Handgelenk. Bestoßungen finden sich am Gewand, besonders in Kniehöhe, und an den Rändern der Aegis, des Schildes und der Basis. Verschiedene Beobachtungen legen den Schluß nahe, daß die Statuette vom Bildhauer nicht vollendet wurde:[2] An der rechten Nebenseite ist unten am Gewand eine annähernd halbkreisförmige, leicht vorkragende Fläche unbearbeitet geblieben. An der Rückseite ist im Anschluß an die Faltenpartie der rechten Nebenseite zwar schon ein Streifen des Gewandes geglättet, allerdings noch nicht als eigenständige Faltenbahn ausgearbeitet (Abb. 6). Vor allem aber ist bis auf den oberen Teil der Aegis mit dem Haar der Göttin die gesamte mittlere Partie der Rückseite in einem Streifen, der sich nach unten zu verbreitert, noch unvollendet geblieben (Abb. 4-6). Auf der rechten Seite dieser Fläche sieht man mehrere Spitzmeißelspuren in breiten Abständen, die schräg nach links unten verlaufen. Zusammen mit der noch nicht bearbeiteten Fläche hinter dem Schild läßt die Rückseite noch deutlich die ursprüngliche kubische Form des unbehauenen Steinblocks erkennen.

Die Stockholmer Statuette steht auf einer länglich-rechteckigen Basis. Das rechte Bein ist das Standbein. Das linke ist als Spielbein zwar leicht gebeugt, aber der Fuß nicht zurückgesetzt. Auch findet sich kaum ein Wiederklang der kontrapostischen Ponderation im Gesamtaufbau der Figur.

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Die Göttin trägt den gegürteten Peplos mit langem Überfall und die Aegis. Der Peplos ist in schwere, teigige Falten gelegt, die senkrecht hinunter fallen und durch Bohrrillen voneinander getrennt sind, ohne nochmals hinterschnitten zu sein. Insgesamt ist die Ausführung flach und steif. Der Peplossaum liegt gerade auf der Basis auf. Nur über den Füßen, die Sandalen mit flachen, der Fußkontur folgenden Sohlen und V-förmigen Riemchen tragen, wirkt der Stoff wie "ausgeschnitten". Der Saum des Apoptygmas verläuft in einer geraden Linie, leicht zum Schild hin abfallend. Der Kolpos hängt nur wenig und teigig über den Gürtel, dessen schlangenförmige Enden in einem offensichtlich vom Kopisten mißverstandenen Heraklesknoten gebunden sind. Die rechte Seite des offenen Peplos ist im Rautenschema wiedergegeben.[3] Die rechteckige, brettartig steife Aegis ist in der Mitte nicht geteilt und am leicht gewellten Saum mit einer Schlange besetzt. In ihre Oberfläche sind breite, flache Schuppen eingekerbt. Um ein Gorgoneion mit rundem Gesicht und hoch aufsitzender Wellenfrisur sind in einem großen Oval acht spiralig aufgerollte Schlangen angeordnet. Zwei weitere sitzen am Rand der Schultern auf. Die Rückseite ist nachlässiger gearbeitet, vor allem die Aegis, die hier glatt belassen ist. Das Haar fällt als breiter, flacher Schopf, der im Erhaltenen nicht gebunden ist, in dünnen, gewellten Strähnen den Rücken herab.

Der rechte Oberarm ist nach unten geführt, ebenfalls der linke Arm, der leicht gebeugt war. Die linke Hand liegt auf dem sehr flachen, länglich-ovalen Schild mit abgesetzter Randleiste, der eng am Körper steht. Auf dessen Vorderseite schlängelt sich, vom äußeren Rand der Basis ausgehend, eine Schlange empor.

Die Stockholmer Statuette läßt sich gut mit spät-kaiserzeitlichen Nachbildungen der Athena Parthenos aus Griechenland vergleichen, wie dem spätantoninisch-frühseverischen Torso von der Akropolis (Abb. 7),[4] dessen Peplosfalten aber weniger steif und unlebendig wirken. Die Form der brettartigen Aegis mit geradem Abschluß und aufgesetzten spiraligen Schlangen gleicht der der Varvakion-Statuette,[5] die P. Karanastassis um 220/30 n.Chr. datiert.[6]

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Abb. 7
Torso. Akropolis Museum, Athen, Inv. Nr. 1362. Courtesy DAI Athen, Neg. Nr. Akr. 570

Für die Zeitstellung der Stockholmer Statuette ist allerdings die stilistische Ausarbeitung der Falten ausschlaggebend, deren holzschnittartiger Kerbschnitt sehr an die annähernd gleichgroßen Statuetten der Niobiden aus Inatos, vor allem der Artemis erinnern, die um 260 n.Chr. datiert werden können.[7] Ein qualitätvolles Köpfchen der Göttin Athena von der Akropolis in Athen (Abb. 8), das ebenfalls aus dieser Zeit stammt, kann auf Grund der stilistischen Unterschiede nicht mit der Stockholmer Statuette in Verbindung gebracht werden.[8]

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Abb. 8
Kleiner Kopf. Akropolis Museum, Athen, Inv. Nr. 647. Courtesy DAI Athen, Neg. Nr. Akr. 361

Trotz ihrer wenig überragenden Qualität und der geringen Größe weist die Stockholmer Statuette die wichtigsten Charakteristika des phidiasischen Vorbildes auf, was nicht zuletzt auf den im Vergleich mit den meisten Nachbildungen recht vollständigen Erhaltungszustand zurückzuführen ist. Teilweise sind dabei einzelne Motive vereinfacht oder sogar mißverstanden:

Auf das Standmotiv mit dem nicht zurückgesetzten linken Spielbein wurde bereits hingewiesen. Die natürlicherweise auf den kontrapostischen Stand folgende Körperbiegung entfällt und ist im wesentlichen nur durch den auf der linken Seite etwas tiefer hängenden Kolpos angedeutet.

Eine Säule, wie sie die rechte Hand der Varvakion-Statuette stützt, war bei der Stockholmer Statuette mit Sicherheit nicht vorhanden, da auf der Basis kein Platz für eine Auflagefläche ist, und der erhaltene Rest des rechten Oberarms darauf hinweist, daß dieser Arm nicht nach vorne geführt, sondern recht eng am Oberkörper anlag. Die Säule, um deren Rekonstruktion sich eigene Untersuchungen bemühen,[9] ist auch nicht für das phidiasische Original anzunehmen: Die maßgetreue Rekonstruktion der Statue in Nashville hat erwiesen, daß die Stütze statisch nicht notwendig ist.[10] Bei Nachbildungen in Marmor ist allerdings eine Stütze für den rechten Arm vonnöten. Als Säule ist sie nur bei der Varvakion-Statuette überliefert. Bei allen übrigen Marmornachbildungen ist - sofern

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dies durch den Erhaltungszustand festgestellt werden kann - weder auf der Basis oder Plinthe Platz, noch ein Rest für ein Auflager einer Säule vorhanden, ja oft waren Streben angebracht, die den Arm mit dem restlichen Körper verbanden und stützten,[11] in manchen Fällen war der rechte Arm auch ganz frei gearbeitet.[12] Da wiederum nur bei der Varvakion-Statuette das Attribut der rechten Hand erhalten ist, wissen wir letztlich nicht mit Sicherheit, ob alle Nachbildungen der Athena Parthenos eine Nike trugen. P. Karanastassis vermutet eher eine Opferschale oder einen ähnlichen, leichten Gegenstand.[13]

Überliefert ist eine Stütze für die rechte Hand ansonsten nur noch auf einem Urkundenrelief in Berlin von 330/20 v. Chr.[14] und einer undatierten Bleitessera in Berlin.[15] Weshalb die Stütze auf den beiden Reliefdarstellungen abgebildet ist, wissen wir nicht. Auf Grund der Überlieferungslage aber, vor allem bei den rundplastischen Nachbildungen, dürfen diese beiden Zeugnisse nicht im Sinne einer "lectio difficilior" gewertet werden. Möglicherweise war es am Ende des 4. Jhs. v. Chr. notwendig geworden, den rechten Arm der phidiasischen Statue abzustützen - eine unschöne Lösung, die von den meisten Künstlern nicht wiedergegeben wurde. Es besteht jedenfalls keine Veranlassung, eine Säule für das Original des 5. Jhs. anzunehmen.

Der Peplos weist einige Charakteristika auf, die auch für das Original als überliefert zu gelten haben, so die breite Vertikalfalte, die vom linken Knie ausgehend an der Innenseite des linken Fußes auf die Plinthe fällt, die flachere Partie mit kleineren Faltenzügen unterhalb der Aegismitte sowie das Rautenschema der rechten offenen Peplosseite.[16] Der über den Füßen "ausgeschnittene" Stoff kommt bei vielen, auch großstatuarischen Nachbildungen vor.[17]

Auch bei den Accessoires bemühte sich der Kopist um Genauigkeit in der Wiedergabe: Auf das mißverstandene Motiv des Heraklesknotens am Gürtel wurde bereits eingegegangen. Die Aegis besitzt die rechteckige, unten horizontal abgeschlossene Form, die auch für das Original als überliefert zu gelten hat.[18] Sie müßte allerdings in der Mitte geteilt sein, des weiteren müßten die aufgeringelten Schlangen in den äußeren Rand übergehen.[19] Dem Gorgoneion fehlt zwar die herausgestreckte Zunge, es besitzt allerdings die gewellte Mittelscheitelfrisur wie das Original.[20]

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An den Sandalen sind die Riemchen in Marmor ausgearbeitet, was selten bei Kopien der Fall ist.[21] Die literarisch für die Fußsohlen überlieferte Kentauromachie ist bei keinem rundplastischen Werk überliefert.[22]

Der auf der Basis abgebildete Mythos von der Erschaffung der Pandora fehlt bei der Stockholmer Statuette wie bei den meisten Nachbildungen.[23]

Bei der überwiegenden Anzahl der Kopien der Athena Parthenos ist der Schild nicht erhalten. Das Original besaß einen runden Schild, auf dem außen eine Amazonomachie, innen eine Gigantomachie in Relief angegeben war. Der Schild der Stockholmer Statuette ist unverziert. Dadurch, daß er so nah an den Körper gerückt ist, war eine Ausschmückung der Innenseite nicht möglich und auch kein Platz mehr für die Schlange vorhanden. Um dennoch die Schlange nicht weglassen zu müssen, war der Bildhauer gezwungen, sie an der Außenseite des Schildes anzubringen.

Trotz der nicht sehr hochstehenden stilistischen Ausarbeitung, die nicht zuletzt auf die späte Zeitstellung der Statuette zurückzuführen ist, bemüht sich das Werk um getreue Wiedergabe der wichtigsten Charakteristika des phidiasischen Vorbildes. Es ist dem griechischen Raum zuzurechnen, aus dem die bei weitem überwiegende Zahl der kleinformatigen Nachbildungen der Athena Parthenos stammt.[24]

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* Herzlich sei an dieser Stelle E. Rystedt für die Publikationserlaubnis gedankt.

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Abkürzungen

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[1] Inv.nr. MM 1981:3; H: 0,58 m. - Zur Problematik um die Kultbildfrage, auf die im Rahmen des vorliegenden Aufsatzes nicht eingegangen werden kann, vgl. G. Nick, *Die Athena Parthenos. Studien zum griechischen Kultbild und seiner Rezeption,* Diss. Mainz 1994.

[2] Zur Arbeitsweise von Bildhauern in der römischen Kaiserzeit: C. Blümel, *Griechische Bildhauerarbeit, JdI EH,* 11, Berlin und Leipzig 1927, 22f.

[3] Vgl. F. Noack, 'Ein Gewandmotiv der Parthenos', *JdI* 45, 1930, 198-217.

[4] Athen, Akropolis Museum Inv.Nr. 1362; H: 1,57 m. - Karanastassis, 407f., Nr. B I 10, Taf. 41, 1-2.

[5] Athen, Nationalmuseum Inv.Nr. 129; H: 1,045 m. - W.-H. Schuchhardt, 'Athena Parthenos', *AntP* 2, Berlin 1963, 31-54, Taf. 20-37; zuletzt: Karanastassis, 408-10, Nr. B I 12, Taf. 35, 1; Th. Stefanidou-Tiveriou, 'Späte attische Sarkophage und das Ende der attischen Werkstätten', in: *Grabeskunst der römischen Kaiserzeit,* hrsg. v. G. Koch, Mainz 1993, 133-139, espec.135 (zur Herkunft aus einer Sarkophagwerkstatt).

[6] Karanastassis, ibid.

[7] H der Artemis-Statuette: 0,60 m, H des Kopfes: 0,065 m, H der Plinthe: 0,04 m. - Vgl. Stefanidou-Tiveriou (supra Anm. 5), 133-139, Taf. 60, 1-2.

[8] Athen, Akropolis Museum Inv.Nr. 647; H: 0,06 m. - Zuletzt: Karanastassis, 411, Nr. B I 14, Taf. 42, 3-4.

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[10] B.S. Ridgway, 'Parthenon and Parthenos', in: *Festschrift für Jale Inan,* hrsg. v. N. Basgelen & M. Lugal, Istanbul 1989, 297f.

[11] Statue Gortyn (Karanastassis, 331, 401f., Nr. B I 2, Taf. 35, 2); Statue Argos (idem, 404, Nr. B I 5, Taf. 37); wahrscheinlich Akropolis-Torso (supra Anm. 4; Karanastassis, 333, 407f., Nr. B I 10, Taf. 41); Statue Antalya (M. Edip Özgür, *Skulpturen des Museums von Antalya I,* Istanbul 1987, Nr. 20).

[12] Lenormant-Statuette (Karanastassis, 410f., Nr. B I 13, Taf. 42, 2); Bronzestatuette Turin (Leipen, 15, Nr. 69, Abb. 58); Terrakotta Oxford (Leipen, 12, Nr. 46; A.J.N.W. Prag, 'Athena Mancuniensis: Another copy of Athena Parthenos', *JHS* 92, 1972, 105f. mit Anm. 57, 107, 109, Taf. 23 a).

[13] Karanastassis, 331.

[14] Staatliche Museen K 104; Leipen, 9, Nr. 35, Abb. 37; M. Meyer, *Die griechischen Urkundenreliefs, AthMitt - BH* 13, Berlin 1986, 301f., A 129.

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[15] Leipen, 10. - Die Terrakottastatuetten mit Säule unter der rechten Hand sind mittlerweile als Fälschungen entlarvt (A.J.N.W. Prag - S.G.E. Bowman, 'Athena Parthenos: a nineteenth-century forger's workshop', *JHS* 103, 1983, 151-53). Die kleinasiatischen Münzbilder beziehen sich wohl nicht auf die Statue in Athen, sondern auf Nachbildungen, die in Kleinasien als Tempelkultbilder aufgestellt waren (vgl. auch B. Fehr (supra Anm. 9), 80f.).

[16] Noack (supra Anm. 3).

[17] Normalerweise aber nur über dem rechten Fuß: Statue Iraklion (Karanastassis, 401f., Nr. B I 2, Taf. 35, 2); Varvakion-Statuette (supra Anm. 5); Statue des Antiochos, Rom (B. Palma & L. Lachenal,*I Marmi Ludovisi nel Museo Nazionale Romano*, *Museo Nazionale Romano* I,5, Roma 1983, 172-75, Nr. 73); Statue von der Via Appia (M. Sapelli, Relazioni su scavi, trovamenti, restauri in Roma e Suburbio, 1990-1991, II: Gruppo di materiali archeologici in proprietà privata sulla via Appia antica, *BullComm* 94, 1991/92, 401, Nr. 2, Abb. 338); Statue Civita Vecchia (M. Moretti, *Nuove Scoperte e Acquisizione nell' Etruria Meridionale*, Roma 1975, 245-7, Taf. 75); Statue Villa Wolkonsky (ibid.; M. Bieber, *Ancient Copies*, New York 1977, 92, Abb. 427-30); verschollen Statue im Codex Pigius (O. Jahn, 'Über die Zeichnungen antiker Monumente im Codex Phighianus', *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der kgl. sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* 20, 1868, 161ff.; Leipen, 7); Statue Villa Borghese (Leipen, 5, Nr. 8); Statuette Belgrad (Leipen, 4, Nr. 4, Abb. 5; S. Düll, *Die Götterkulte Nordmakedoniens in römischer Zeit*, München 1977, 310f., Nr. 77, Abb. 27); Statuette des Euhemeros, Apollonia (V.D. Blavatskij & S. Islami, *Sowjetskaja Archeolojia* 4, 1959, 194, Abb. 24; R.P. Franke, *Albanien, AntW Sondernummer*, Mainz 1983, 45, Abb. 91); Statue Boston (C.C. Vermeule & M.B. Comstock, *Sculpture in Stone and Bronz. Addition to the Collection of Greek, Etruscan and Roman Art 1971-1988*, Boston 1988, 29-31, Abb.).

[18] J. Floren, *Studien zur Typologie des Gorgoneion*, Münster 1977, 147; vgl. Karanastassis, 338.

[19] Floren (supra Anm. 18), 148f.

[20] Floren (supra Anm. 18), 151-53.

[21] Statue des Antiochos, Rom (supra Anm. 17); Statue Antalya (supra Anm. 11); Kultbild von Priene: Riemchen sind in Bronze zu ergänzen (J.C. Carter, *The Sculpture of the Sanctuary of Athena Polias at Priene*, London 1983, 210-49, Taf. 33-37, Abb. 19; M. Weber, 'Zur Überlieferung der Goldelfenbeinstatue des Phidias im Parthenon', *JdI* 108, 1993, 83-99, Abb. 4-11).

[22] Poll. *Onom.* 7.92; Plin. *HN.* 36.18; vgl. Leipen, 29f.

[23] Reste sind nur an der Statue aus Pergamon (zuletzt: M. Weber (supra Anm. 21), 103-107) und der unvollendet gebliebenen Lenormant-Statuette erhalten (supra Anm. 12); vgl. Leipen, 23-27.

[24] Vgl. Karanastassis, 338.

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Seven Sphero-conical Vessels in Stockholm

KARIN ÅDAHL

Few objects in Islamic art history seem as enigmatic as the small sphero-conical vessels which were produced and distributed in the early medieval period.[1] Although their appearance is rather insignificant, most of them being made of unglazed hard-fired clay with a relief decoration, they have attracted much interest and many theories have been presented as to their use.

In most collections of Islamic art today, there are one or, more often, several of these sphero-conical vessels and at least around two hundred have been mentioned in reports from archaeological excavations. It is possible that, in all, several hundred could now be documented and a fairly large number has so far been published.[2]

The seven sphero-conical vessels in the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities (MM) in Stockholm were brought into the collection at different periods and from different contexts. As a consequence, they were originally registered in different ways. Four of the vessels were bought in the 1920's for the National Museum in Stockholm and brought to the MM in 1982, one was a gift to the MM in 1928 and the last two were transferred from the collections in the Museum of National Antiquities in the 1980's. The four vessels in the National Museum group were donated to the Museum by the Swedish art historian Fredrik Martin along with an important collection of nearly one thousand pottery sherds.[3] The origin of the two vessels from the Museum of National Antiquities is not known.[4] Six of the vessels are of equal size, five have dark-grey to brownish-grey bodies and two have a lighter, buff, hard-fired clay. One vessel with a light-buff body is slightly larger than the other vessels in the group (Fig. 1).

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Fig. 1.
The group of sphero-conical vessels in the Museum of Mediterranean and near Eastern Antiquities in Stockholm (except Vessel E)

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Vessel A (NM 561/1921) height 12 cm, largest diameter 8.6 cm. Weight 559 g (Fig. 2).

Dark-grey, hard-fired clay with a dull surface. Moulded decoration of vertical, narrow grooves and sections of moulded scale pattern in low relief. The neck is c. 3 cm high with a circumscribing ring at the transition from the shoulder to the neck and an opening c. 4 mm wide.[5]

Fig. 2.
Vessel A, NM 561/1921

Vessel B (NM 918/1922) height 12.4 cm, largest diameter 8 cm. Weight 433 g (Fig. 3).

Dark-brownish, hard-fired clay, the lower part with a slightly shiny finish. Moulded relief decoration of small bosses or scales in a diaper pattern on the shoulder. The neck is c. 3 cm high with a diameter of approximately 3 cm, a circumscribed ring at the shoulder and a narrow opening of 3 mm.[6]

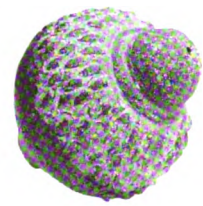

Fig. 3.
Vessel B, NM 918/1922

Vessel C (NM 919/1922) height 11 cm, largest diameter 8.2 cm. Weight 432.6 g (Fig. 4).

Dark-grey, to brownish-grey, hard-fired clay. Moulded and carved decoration of vertical, narrow, double grooves and sections of scalepattern over the entire body. The neck has no groove, is approximately 3 cm high with a circumscribing ring at the shoulder and has an opening measuring 6 mm.[7]

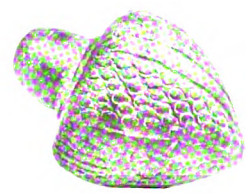

Fig. 4.
Vessel C, NM 919/1922

Vessel D (NM 920/1922) height 10 cm, largest diameter 8.5 cm. Weight 388.9 g (Fig. 5).

Black, hard-fired clay with a reddish hue and small, rust-coloured patches. Moulded buds or bosses in high relief and six stamped cartouches with the arabic inscription *mujimm*.

مـجـم

The much damaged neck is added to the body with a circumscribing ring at the shoulder, the opening measuring 14 mm in its present, damaged shape.[8]

Fig. 5.
Vessel D, NM 920/1922

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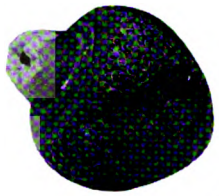

Fig. 6.
Vessel E, MM 10083

Vessel E (MM 10083) height 10.8 cm, largest diameter 8.3 cm. Weight 426 g (Fig. 6).
Black, hard-fired clay. Relief decoration of scale pattern in diaper design on the shoulder and small cartouches with the same scale pattern on the body. The neck has a circumscribing ring and is approximately 2.5 cm high. The orifice is slightly damaged.[9]

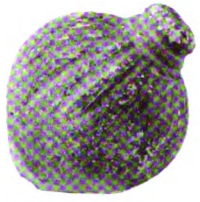

Fig. 7.
Vessel F (s.n.)

Vessel F (registration number missing, originally Museum of National Antiquities) height 11 cm, largest diameter 9.7 cm. Weight 588.1 g (Fig. 7).
Light-buff, hard-fired clay. Moulded decoration of vertical grooves. Buttonshaped neck with no groove and a slightly damaged orifice measuring 9 mm.[10]

Fig. 8.
Vessel G (s.n.)

Vessel G (registration number missing, originally Museum of National Antiquities) height 15.4 cm, largest diameter 11.4 cm. Weight 792 g (Fig. 8).
Light-buff, hard-fired clay. Moulded decoration of scale or drop pattern in horizontal bands. Button-shaped neck on a raised collar with circumscribing rings at the shoulder. Orifice c. 5 mm.[11]

Generally speaking, the majority of the sphero-conical vessels are moulded or thrown on the wheel and fired at a high temperature to achieve a hardness similar to that of stoneware. The walls are unusually thick for Islamic pottery of this period and generally not porous. The colour of the hard-fired clay varies from light buff to light and dark grey, dark brown and almost black. Most of the objects, with only a few exceptions, are unglazed.[12]

A few vessels with a similar, if not identical shape, are made of glass or metal.[13]

The height of the vessels is usually only 10 to 15 cm and the diameter approximately 8-12 cm. There are, however, exceptions and a few examples are known which are more than 25 cm high, with a diameter of more than 20 cm.[14]

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The characteristic shape of the sphero-conical vessels in general is a piriform or rather ovoid body, tapering to a narrow, pointed base and with a 2-3-cm-high, rounded neck with only a small orifice of a few millimetres.[15] On some of the vessels, there is a groove at the transition between the neck and the shoulder, possibly intended for a string, which may have served to hang the vessel up or to seal the opening with a cloth tied round the neck.[16] The many vessels without this groove were probably sealed with some kind of plug, stopper or pin.[17]

Most vessels are decorated with a moulded, stamped, barbotine or carved design. Often appearing is a kind of scale pattern in low relief, sometimes raised as buds or bosses. Many vessels have cartouches with stamped, round rosettes. There are, however, no two vessels with identical designs and the decoration shows a great variety, from almost no decoration to very elaborate ornamentation in combined techniques. Only a few, short inscriptions have been published so far.[18] Most of the inscriptions were made by the artist before the firing process, but there are also inscriptions incised after the firing, presumably by the owner of the vessel.

Judging from the find contexts and the technical and decorative aspects, these sphero-conical vessels were produced during the early centuries of Islam, possibly from the ninth to the thirteenth century.[19]They have been found all over the eastern Islamic world from the eastern Mediterranean region to Central Asia. Ettinghausen has mentioned Fustat, Alexandria, Madinat al-Fayyum, Lisht, Jerusalem, Ramleh, Beisan, Khirbat al-Mafjar, Birket Israil, Mount Tabor, Tell Al-Ayyul, Ajlun Castle (Qal'at al-Rabbad), Saïda, Damascus, Baalbek, Tripoli, Hama, Raqqah, Miletus, Theodosia, Bailaqan (Oren-Kala), Dvin, Ani, Anberd, Shaberan, Karbala, Staria Gandzha, Dmanisi, Tbilisi, Gori, Serai-Berke, Bolgary, Kazan, Biliar and other places on the Volga, Samarra, Susa, Rayy, Nishapur, Merv, Balkh, Lashkari-Bazar, Termez, Bust, Ghazni, Afrasiyab-Samarkand, Khojand, Akhsyket and Tashkent.[20] According to Ettinghausen this was still "undoubtedly a rather incomplete listing" and Sultaniyya and Yemen have yielded more exampels since then.[21]

Different types were produced or found in the different regions, such as the vessels from the excavations at Fustat, where

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several vessels have a distinctly brownish body. Another group from northern Iran can be identified by the regular pattern of decorative bands encircling the body.[22]

Former theories about the function of the vessels

The unusual shape, the hard-fired, thick walls of the vessels, the strange shape of the neck and the small orifice have intrigued scholars ever since the first vessels appeared on the market and in museum collections.[23] A considerable number of articles has been published on the subject and several exhibition and museum catalogues have brief notices and also pictures of sphero-conical vessels. In the catalogue of the recent exhibition entitled "La médecine au temps des caliphes" at the Institut du Monde Arabe in Paris, there is a summary of the theories presented so far.[24] Among them are the early suggestions that the generally rather small vessels were used as hand grenades or *aeolipiles*, i.e. fire-blowers, as well as one of the more recent theories that they were made to contain beer. Other theories put forward over the last century or more are well argued suggestions that they were intended for perfume and scented oils, as containers for mercury, for alchemical purposes, for wine or as parts of water-pipes.

The most often discussed theory, that the sphero-conical vessels were hand grenades for Greek fire, appeared as early as the late 19th century, obviously originating from the shape of the vessels, associated with hand grenades from later periods.[25] This theory was developed by M. Mercier in his works on Greek fire. According to Mercier, the bottles were filled with inflammatory liquids, most probably naphtha, and thrown at the enemy as incendiary bombs.[26] A.S. Lane objected to this theory on the ground that "strong men who have tested them against stone walls say they seldom break".[27] The theory, however, keeps coming up in scholarly discussion and is commented upon in most articles on the subject.

Another theory, discussed by W. Lenz, suggests that the sphero-conical vessels were containers for mercury, which was a precious

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and much-used ingredient in medicine and in alchemy in the medieval period.[28] There appear to be strong reasons to assume that the bottles could have been used both for the transport and for the storage of mercury.[29] There are, however, also strong arguments against such a purpose. Although mercury was used and is often mentioned in medieval scientific treatises, it was a far too dangerous and expensive substance to be transported or stored in the considerable amounts which must have been circulated in relation to the number of sphero-conical vessels found.[30]

Another much-discussed and often repeated hypothesis was first presented by W.L. Hildburgh in his article entitled "Aeolipiles as Fire-blowers" in 1951.[31] Hildburgh gave support to the theories that the sphero-conical vessels could have been used both as hand grenades and as containers for mercury but presumed that their main purpose was that of fire-blowers or aeolipiles. The model for this kind of fire-blower should have been brought from the Himalayan region, where they are still used in the stove to keep up or raise the temperature of the fire.[32] Seyrig supported this theory, but Hildburgh was contradicted by Ettinghausen, who argued that "there remains, however, something theoretical about it" and also remarked that "few of these vessels have soot marks or other signs of having been near fires". Ettinghausen mainly supported the theory that the vessels had been used as mercury containers but ended his discussion in uncertainty about the original purpose.[33]

According to Gouchani and Adle, there is no Arabic or Persian source that mentions sphero-conical vessels as fire-blowers as could be expected in view of the great number of vessels found, dating from more than four centuries, all over the Near East.[34]

M. Rogers has, however, supported the theory that the sphero-conical vessels were fire-blowers and in his article entitled "Aeolipiles again" draws attention to the works on the subject published by Russian scholars.[35] An additional theory put forward by these Soviet scholars is that the sphero-conical vessels were intended to be alchemical vessels.[36]

In his excavations at Nishapur, C.K. Wilkinson discovered a large number of sphero-conical vessels, as well as spoils, and recorded that he had found nothing to support the theory that the vessels were used as grenades or lamps.[37] What is even more inter-

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esting is Wilkinson's affirmative statement that "the construction of Nishapur fireplaces rules out their conjectured use as aeolipiles and fire-blowers" and he concluded that "they were simply bottles for storing valued liquids".[38]

Recently A.Gouchani and C. Adle have published and strongly argued for yet another theory that the sphero-conical vessels were beer bottles, *kuza-yi fuqa'a,* arguing that support could be found for this theory in contemporary written documents.[39] Gouchani and Adle, however, also refer to another theory and a group of "identical" vessels in glass used for the preparation of cinnabar; the glass bottle was filled with mercury and sulphur and then probably heated. It is anyhow impossible to fill the sphero-conical bottles, with narrow orifices usually only a few millimetres wide, with powder and probably even more difficult to get it out unless the bottle is broken. Another theory about the use of the vessels, referred to by Gouchani and Adle, of a more legendary character and based on a medieval text, introduces the story that the sphero-conical bottles were filled with scorpions and thrown at the enemy in battle.[40]

The latest theory launched by E.J. Keall, based on finds from excavations in Yemen, that the sphero-conical vessels are parts of water-pipes, is not very convincingly established and may not even be intended to be taken quite serious.[41] Keall, however, added to our knowledge of the sphero-conical vessels in use in Yemen, where only a few examples have been documented so far.

Some technical aspects and discussion of a new theory

On the observations made during the examinations of the sphero-conical vessels in the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities, some new reflexions could be made which may be added to the discussion of the existing theories and also contribute to a new theory.

A technical analysis was made in the laboratory of the Central Board of National Antiquities in Stockholm of three of the vessels although it seemed very unlikely that the vessels would still retain

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traces of any substance that they had once contained. Two methods were used: Vessels D and F, which have openings wide enough or are damaged enough to allow a scrape test to be made, were examined. Vessel C was filled with water and the substance dried out of the water solution was analysed.[42] Samples were taken from the inside walls of the vessels with a scalpel and analysed with the help of a scanning electron microscope equipped with an energy-dispersive unit for X-ray micro-analysis (SEM-EDS).
The test yielded the following results:

Vessel D (SHM): A scrape test on the inside wall of the object showed that the material consisted mainly of sand (quartz, felspar and traces of a mineral with an iron content).

Vessel F (NM 920/1922): A scrape test on the inside wall showed that the material consisted mainly of pure calcium carbonate.

Vessel C (NM 919/1922): The brown powder obtained from the inside of the vessel proved to be a mixture of sand and salt (sodium chloride) and some calcium (calcium carbonate).

According to the comments from the laboratory, the traces of sodium chloride and calcium carbonate are characteristic of archaeological finds from desert areas. If the vessels had originally contained any liquid, such as perfumes or scented oil, traces of these substances would most likely have disappeared if the vessels were not sealed during the long period in question. Traces of mercury could, however, have remained in the vessel but were not found.

A test made on two of the vessels, which were filled with water to make an estimate of the inner volume, showed a maximum content of 150 ml.[43] The bottle, which has an orifice of 3 mm, could only be filled with the help of a small funnel and the water would not come out unless the bottle was shaken. The water then came out only drop by drop. This simple experiment showed that it was most unlikely that any viscous liquid or powder could be poured through the small opening or made to come out. When put into the water, however, vessel C floated with its neck well above the surface.

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Since the vessels cannot stand on their pointed ends, the question arises, how were they kept or stored when not in use or being transported? Since there is a groove in the transition from neck to shoulder on some of the vessels, one suggestion was that the vessels could have been used as weights or loom-weights meant to be hung up in a string.[44] On many of the vessels, however, as on the majority of the Stockholm items, there is no groove at the neck. As a consequence the vessel cannot be hung up. Another suggestion is that they were kept in a stand, but none of the six vessels in Stockholm, or any vessels which I have had the opportunity to see in other collections, shows any trace of wear from any kind of stand, for example an iron ring on legs. Traces of this kind, even on storage vessels, are, however, not evident. Another suggestion is that they were intended to be put down in sand, which, of course, would leave no marks.

It was observed, however, that, when posed on a table or any flat surface, they would always stay on the tapering, pointed part of the body, turning round on the same spot but never tipping over. The opening would always stay in the highest possible position.

These observations led to a new theory. Could the vessels possibly have been intended for the hammam? The hard-fired clay would function well in the bath; it would not absorb water, it would not easily break, as would glass, or deteriorate, as would metal. If brought to the hammam or distributed in the hammam, the vessel would contain just the amount of oil or perfume sufficient for one visit. It could be put down on the stone benches or on the floor without breaking, which also justifies the unusually thick walls, and it would not spill the rather precious contents, since the opening would always stay upright and so justify the pointed base, which is a prerequisite for the vessel to stay in this position. The relief decoration would ensure a firm grip while the vessel stays very well in the cupped hand also when turned upside down. The decoration would make it easy for the user or owner to recognize his or her bottle among others and would also have an aesthetic appeal, which seems suitable in the bath.

In the hammam, it would have been important, as already men-

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tioned, that the vessel should not be porous in order to keep the perfume or oil from evaporating or absorbing water. A glaze would be very inconvenient in the bath, where it could easily crack on the hard surface of the stone and flake off. The fact that the bottles can apparently float is probably not of importance in this context.

The theory that the sphero-conical vessels were containers for perfume or scented oil has always been considered possible, although less spectacular and therefore maybe less interesting than many of the other theories which have been elaborately discussed. This does not, however, exclude the possibility that the bottles could have been used also for medical purposes and have contained precious medicine or elixir. The conical shape is then more difficult to explain, but the small opening, from which any liquid would come out only in drops, may have been functional and may indicate that the contents, most probably a liquid, were to be used in small and controlled quantities.

The few inscriptions, as well as the archaeological facts that most vessels have been found in living quarters and houses, may give support to the theory that the bottles were intended mainly for domestic or private use and maybe were mainly used by women.[45] The few vessels with a similar shape but with a fish-tail may be another indication that the vessels were used by women, since the fish is an ancient fertility symbol in the Middle East, with a female connotation.[46]

Although several inscriptions are mentioned in relation to the vessels, very few have been properly published. As a consequence, it is difficult to draw any precise conclusions from the few inscriptions which are known.

It is, however, evident that the inscriptions usually refer to the owner, to his well-being or to wishes in general, like *Ishrab haniyyan* "Drink to your good health"[47] or simple *bismallahs.* Ettinghausen mentions "the name of women"[48] and Rogers writes about a "fragmentary vessel from Baylaqan decorated with underglaze painting under a transparent glaze with a tetrastich round the neck addressed to some conventional beauty, and which probably served

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Fig. 9.
The inscription on Vessel D, NM 620/1922

as a scent bottle", without giving the exact reading of the inscription.[49] The allusion to women, however, also recalls the wall painting in Qasr al-Hair al-Gharbi, in which a woman is depicted holding a vessel similar to the sphero-conical vessels, which may be another indication of these vessels being used as perfume bottles.[50]

مُجِمّ

mujimm

أَجَمّ

ajamma

One of the Stockholm vessels, however, is decorated with small stamped cartouches with a repeated inscription which could be read as *mujimm* (Fig. 9). This form of the verb *'ajamma'*, meaning "to rest", could refer to a refreshing content, a scented oil, perfume, a drug or drink.[51] A similar inscription has been found on a vessel in the Musée d'Artillerie in Paris, read by Mercier as *iehma* and translated or interpreted, "qu'elle chauffe".[52] It could be added that the vessel in Stockholm is unusually black and has minor traces of burst bubbles in the now slightly shiny surface of the hard-fired clay as if it had been exposed to fire.[53] The significance of the inscriptions is not clear but may indicate that this specific vessel was meant to be heated or possibly used for burning incense.

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It is, however, obvious that the sphero-conical vessels made of unglazed clay and with the extremely narrow orifices could only be used for a liquid which would not get stale, for example water, or perfume based on alcohol or, possibly but less likely, a very fine powder. The liquid was bought or used in small quantities and was also meant to be used drop by drop, when the neck and the small orifice served to direct the drops or to sprinkle the contents, as would be the case with for example rose-water. The discussion, however, continues and it seems that the enigma of the sphero-conical vessels still awaits a definite solution.

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[1] Soustiel (1985, 108, 385) even describes them as "mystérieuse" and in his *Terminologie* writes under *Eolipiles* that "Aucune étude n'est encore parvenue à élucider le problème que posent ces curieux objects piriformes que l'on trouve sur tous les champs de fouilles de l'Orient".

[2] Unfortunately, the known material is not very well documented. A more complete documentation would, of course, help in the discussion of the function, the types as well as the distribution pattern of the objects over the vast areas where the sphero-conical vessels have been found.

[3] According to the acquisition catalogue of the National Museum, the collection of mainly pottery sherds of nearly one thousand pieces (nos. 50-993/1922) was donated by F.R. Martin in 1922.

[4] Unfortunately, the registration number is missing on the two objects from the Museum of National Antiquities and it has therefore not been possible to find the information about the acquisition of these objects.

[5] This is one of the most common types of sphero-conical vessels and similar vessels can be seen in many collections, see, for example, Mercier 1952, pl. 11: found in the Crimea (Théodosie) and now in the Musée du Louvre; pl. 12: several examples found in Jerusalem; pl. 15: now in the Archaeological Museum in Alexandria, Egypt. Four examples found at Hama in Syria, now in the National Museum in Copenhagen, see Hama 1957, 279, fig. 1050. See also Keall 1993, 277, fig. 1: an example

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found in Yemen and now in the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto. There is one vessel of this type also in the Institut du Monde Arabe, Paris, Inv. IMA AI 89-58/61.

[6] Also this type appears in several collections, see for example Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Inv. 10951 B, now in the Institut du Monde Arabe, Paris.

[7] See n. 5.

[8] Although this vessel is typical of the Fustat group, I have not seen any similar vessel published. The type is, however, related to one example in the Palestine Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem, see Mercier 1952, pl. 15, 40.352.

[9] See n. 5.

[10] This simple vessel, decorated only with simple, vertical, carved grooves is unusual. For related objects, see Wilkinson 1973, 353, figs. 112-113, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Inv. MMA 40.170.240 and 38.40.278.

[11] A vessel with a similar decoration can be found in the Musée du Louvre (brought from Damascus by J. Sauvaget) and in the Palestine Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem, see Mercier 1952, pl. 14, Inv. 40.349. Although some of the sphero-conical vessels are contemporary with the unglazed water bottles produced mainly in Syria, Irak and Iran but also in Central Asia (Samarkand) in the 12th century, the decorative design is not closely related to the generally more elaborate design of the water-bottles, see for example Lane 1947, pl. 37, and Samarcande 1992 (numerous examples).

[12] Lane (1947, fig. 36) has published a green-glazed vessel with a moulded decoration from Rakka, Syria (12-13th century?), now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Hauser and Wilkinson (1942, 90) writes as follows: "Less elegant than these but more elaborate than our own are some which are ornamented in relief and covered with blue glaze. They have been found in several places and a very fine one from Rakka is to be seen in the Brooklyn Museum". Three more examples are known: in the Institut du Monde Arabe in Paris on loan from the Musée des Arts Décoratifs (Inv.10951), in the Musée de Sèvres in Paris (Inv. MNS 18632) and in the British Museum (Inv. 72 7-29 8). All these vessels are covered with a turquoise glaze, see Gouchani & Adle 1992, 87, n. 5.

[13] One sphero-conical vessel of glass with enamelled decoration made for the Mamluk amir Al-Shamsi Shams al-Din Altunbugha in Egypt c. 1293 has been published by Ettinghausen (1965, pl. 48:A). A sphero-conical vessel of metal found at Fustat is recorded in the acquisitions catalogue of the National Museum in Stockholm (NM 1922:921) but is now missing. It is described as egg-shaped, of red copper-bronze with a green patina and decorated with long, narrow leaves. Its height is 9.5 cm. It was probably bought in Cairo by F.R. Martin and donated by him to the museum. Wilkinson (1973, 293) also mentions a sphero-conical vessel of stone.

[14] See Ghouchani & Adle 1992, 73, fig.1, for a vessel of a "rare large type, height 251 mm, diam. 241 to 260 mm. Iran, pre-Mongol period. Private collection, Paris".

[15] In the relevant published material, there are also closely related, globular bottles, published for example in Mercier 1952, pl. 13:39.757 and pl.

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14:35.3079 and in Ghouchani & Adle 1992, 74-75, figs. 3-6, as well as a group of vessels with straight bodies, rounded, conical bottoms and tapering shoulders with a short, rounded neck, see for example Hama 1957, 277, fig. 1047 and Mercier 1952, pl. 5-9. Seyrig (1959, 81) writes: "Les vases à fond plat et à col ouvert, souvent moins étroit, ont parfois pu avoir la même fonction, mais ont aussi pu se prêter à autres usages".

[16] The Persian scholar 'Ali-Akbar Dihkhuda has written, in describing the process of storing *kuza,* "beer", that "The vessel's spout was tightly sealed with a skin, and the *kuza* was left on ice to cool. To drink the beverage, the skin covering the opening was pierced with a nail and the gaseous liquid was swallowed", see Gouchani & Adle 1992, 78.

[17] According to Hauser and Wilkinson (1942, 90, n. 7), "One of these pottery bottles, found by the Egyptian Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum in Lisht and now in the Cairo Museum, had a cap of hard plaster with an Arabic inscription". Ettinghausen (1965, 219, n. 11) refers to N.F. Vysotskij, who in 1908 reported in his 'Some Words about the Antiquities of the Volga Bulgars' that a sphero-conical vessel had been found in the village of Old Krym with the neck closed by a wooden stopper and sealed with wax. This vessel must have contained mercury (N.V. Vysotskii, 'Neskol'ko slov drevnostiakh Volzhskoi Bolgari', *IOAIE,* 24, part 4 (1908), 349, quoted in R.M. Dzhanpoladian, 'Sferokonischeskie sosudy iz Dvina i Ani', *Sovetskaia Arkheologiia,* 1, 1958, 209, n. 24).

[18] Ghouchani and Adle (1992, p.74) and Rogers (1970, 155) have all mentioned the same inscription found on a waster from Oren Qal'a in the southern part of the Azerbayjani Republic and originally published by L.T. Gjuzalyjan in his excavation report (Gjuzalyjan 1959, 345, pl. 36). Other, undocumented inscriptions are mentioned by Hauser & Wilkinson (1942, 90) and Ettinghausen (1965, 225).

[19] Sphero-conical vessels dating from the 9th century have been found in Baylaqan, see Gjuzalyjan 1959, 55-56 and in Samarra, see *Excavations at Samarra,* 1936-39, vol. 2, Baghdad 1940, 3. The majority of the objects, however, are dated to the 12th and 13th centuries. According to Rogers (1970, 149) "Their distribution is greatest in the 12th-13th centuries and much decreased subsequently".

[20] Ettinghausen 1965, 218.

[21] Ghouchani & Adle 1992, 72; Keall 1993, 276.

[22] If the finds from Fustat and Nishapur, for example, as well as those from Samarra and the Russian excavations, which probably amount to more than a hundred items, were more completely published, it would be possible to establish a typology and also to estimate the number of objects which were traded, as well as the distribution patterns. Also an analysis of the different motifs would be useful in classifying the vessels.

[23] See for example *Islamische Kunst* 1986, 116, no. 201; Niewöhner 1991, 18, no. 24; Samarcande 1992, 68; *Islamische Kunst,* Hejtens Museum, Düsseldorf 1973, 118, nos. 152-153.

[24] La médécine 1996.

[25] F. de Saulcy (1874, 25-34) was the first to suggest the hand-grenade theory; see also Ettinghausen 1965, 219.

[26] Mercier 1952, 92-94.

[27] Lane 1947, 27.

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[28] W. Lenz reported (according to Ettinghausen 1965, 219) that two more bottles that contained mercury were in the Museum of Kazan and that another was at that time preserved in the Rumianzov Museum in Moscow.

[29] "The hypothesis that they were used generally as mercury containers requires more detailed consideration in view of the very considerable literary evidence for the export of mercury in mediaeval Islam", Rogers 1970, 149. Rogers further refers to the appendix by S.D. Goitein in Ettinghausen (1965, 229) on the shipment of mercury to Alexandria in the mediaeval period .

[30] "Ettinghausen correctly remarks that it is improbable that all the spheroconic objects found so far were used for containing mercury, and this is even more evident when we consider that temporally their distribution is greatest in the 12th-13th centuries and much decreased subsequently; for this cannot correspond to the production or consumption of mercury", see Rogers 1970, 149.

[31] See Hildburgh 1951.

[32] Incendiary bombs were employed by Islamic peoples and since this fact is testified by literary records, as well as pictorially, "we need therefore have little hesitation in believing that many of the pottery vessels of the forms with which we are here concerned were made for the use of fire-bombs", Hildburgh 1951, 53.

[33] Hildburgh 1951, 52; Seyrig 1959, 85 and 88; Ettinghausen 1965, 227.

[34] Ghouchani & Adle 1992, 73-74. Ghouchani and Adle also state that there appears to be no equivalent in Persian or Arabic for the term "aeolipile", which, of course, would indicate that the object itself was not known.

[35] Unfortunately, the Russian publications have not been available to me but are amply referred to and discussed by Rogers 1970, 148-52.

[36] Rogers 1970, 158.

[37] Wilkinson 1973, 293.

[38] Hauser and Wilkinson writes: "In our view (those of us who excavated them in Nishapur), these were simply bottles for storing valued liquids — of which rosewater, to suggest but one, would be common", Hauser & Wilkinson 1973, 294; see also Wilkinson 1942, 90.

[39] Ghouchani & Adle 1992, n. 3.

[40] Ghouchani & Adle 1992, 72-73, 87, see also n.117: "A king encircled Nasibayn. He took the scorpions and put them into beer gourds and catapulted them into the city!"

[41] Keall (1993, 277) writes: "While the definitive explanations may still be elusive, the ROM [Royal Ontario Museum] team of excavators of the sixteenth-to-seventeenth-century layer in the citadel of Zabid in Yemen believe that they have found yet another explanation, however implausible at first".

[42] The analysis was made by Kate Tronner and Anders Nord (Analysrapport 1997-02-17).

[43] This result corresponds very well to the results published by Mercier (1952, pl. 2-9 with text), who has documented the weight, inner volume and possible contents of all the illustrated objects.

[44] Ettinghausen 1965, 219.

[45] Ettinghausen 1965, 225.

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[46] Hauser & Wilkinson 1942, 88, fig. 8; Ettinghausen 1965, 228 and fig. 14.

[47] Ghouchani & Adle 1992, 74.

[48] Ettinghausen 1965, 225.

[49] Rogers 1970, 150, n. 10.

[50] According to Ettinghausen (1965, 224, pl. 48), a stucco relief has been found dating from around 730 in the ruins of the Umayyad palace of Qasr al-Hair al Gharbi with a female figure holding a small vessel of the sphero-conical type. The relief is now in the Musée National in Damascus. It must be said, however, that, although the vessel has a conical bottom, it does not have the typical, conical or button-shaped neck but an ordinary neck with a slightly flaring opening.

[51] I am very grateful to professor Christoper Toll who has read and interpreted the inscription and also to Reem Grindsäter, who was very helpful in studying the inscription from the cartouches on the vessel. According to professor Christopher Toll the first sign is m, the second j with the additional point to the right and the last sign is again m with a shadda, the ending of the last mim is bent upwards along the circular frame. The word should then be read *mujimm*, from the root JMM, IV *'ajamma'* "to let rest". In E.W. Lane, *An Arabic English Lexicon,* 1, London & Edinburgh 1863, 488 c, a tradition concerning quince is quoted, saying: *tujimmu l-fu'âda* "it rests the heart, and consolidates it, and completes its soundness and liveliness". The participle *mujimm* in the inscription should then be translated as, referring to the content, "something that gives (the heart, the mind) rest and refreshes it".

This interpretation of the inscription gives support to the theory that the sphero-conical vessels were mainly intended for perfumes, scented oils or drugs.

[52] Mercier 1952, 97.

[53] A sample of the black coating on the surface of this vessel was examined by Kate Tronner in the laboratory of the Central Board of National Antiquities in Stockholm and found to contain a high proportion of a carbonated substance on the outside of the coating but not on the inside of the sample, which may indicate that the vessel had been exposed to fire or embers.

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ISSN 0585-3214

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